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HISTORICAL SKETCHES

OF

MONAGHAN,

FROM

THE EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE FENIAN MOVEMENT.

BY

DENIS CAROLAN RUSHE,

B.A., F.R.S.A. (IREL.)



DUBLIN :

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To the

MOST REVEREND RICHARD OWENS, D.D.,

LORD BISHOP OF CLOGHER,

This little Book is Dedicated

By his OLD PUPIL,

THE AUTHOR.

2967

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P R E F A C E.

THE following pages are a collection of essays and papers, written from time to time by the Author, under the following circumstances :—

In the winter of 1891, the Rev. Father George M'Meel, then Administrator of Monaghan, urged on the members of the Monaghan Parish Branch of the Irish National Federation, of which he was President, to get up some literary entertainment with which to conclude the meetings, after the usual social and political business had been disposed of. The chapter, "Old Monaghan," in this book, was the first step taken at the branch towards carrying out Father M'Meel's suggestion. Most of the other papers were read at intervals before the Branch, and a few of them have already appeared in the *People's Advocate* and the *Weekly Freeman*.

When many of these pages had been read, the late Most Rev. Dr. Donnelly, Lord Bishop of Clogher, spoke to the writer about the propriety of writing a history of the town of Monaghan. The writer had neither the ability at command

nor time at disposal to enable him to accomplish the work, but he agreed to collect the papers already written, and after adding a few more facts to publish them, and with the permission of the late Bishop, to have dedicated the book to him.

But on the 29th December, 1893, God called the eighty-ninth Bishop of Clogher to his eternal reward. The writer cannot pass unnoticed the magnificent career which closed on that day.

Dr. Donnelly was born in the next parish to Monaghan (Tydavnet), while the 19th century was yet in its youth, of a respectable and religious Catholic family. He was educated at the old school of Uribleshanny, and then by a local classical teacher. He had a long and brilliant course in Maynooth College, and after his ordination he was in succession curate of Killanny parish, first Professor in St. Macartin's Seminary, after its opening; Professor of the Irish College, Paris; collector for some years in the United States for the founding of the Catholic University of Ireland; Parish Priest of Rosslea, and Bishop of Clogher, which latter position he held for twenty-six years.

His labours were gigantic, and such as no ordinary man could attempt. The Schools, Convents and Churches throughout his diocese, the Sanctuary of Lough Derg, and the Cathedral

of St. Macartin, Monaghan—all attest to the energy and assiduity of Dr. Donnelly.

He was a man of tremendous industry, and those who knew him best knew that he never idled for a single day. He was a great student, and studied up to his very death. He never began a subject that he did not master before he left it off. Bills or Acts of Parliament, or social or political schemes were never laid out of his hand until he had got such a grasp of their contents as would put their authors to the blush. He was blessed with great abilities, and as a result of his life was a good general scholar, having thorough knowledge of most subjects.

His motto was *Pro Deo et Patria*, and never was a motto so well lived up to by its bearer. In all acts of his life he seemed to have no other object than the glory of his Church and the elevation of his country. He dearly loved both one and the other. He was a great churchman and a true patriot; and between the lines of every page he wrote, both one and the other may be easily read.

It is to be hoped that some one will soon arise who will write his biography; but no one should touch it who does not fully appreciate his character, and who cannot sympathetically enter into his life struggles. In the Blue Books of Parliament there is a correspondence published

in which he took the principal part in defending the rights of his Catholic people to freedom of education. This controversy was carried on with a bigoted tyrant, and shows the tremendous grasp and ability the late Bishop had of the subject, and how easily he could dispose of a foe to his religion and his people.

The income he worked so hard to earn was spent as he made it, on the advancement of charitable, religious, and educational institutions in his diocese, and elsewhere throughout Ireland; while no really patriotic object ever was known to pass unassisted by his generous subscription. His largest subscriptions bore the stamp of true religious charity—for they were always given privately. His extraordinary sacrifices in the cause of education were revealed to the public by his examination before the Endowed School Commission, where he admitted that he had subsidised St. Macartin's Seminary to the extent of £5,000!

The greatest work of his life was the erection of St. Macartin's Cathedral at Monaghan. This magnificent structure is not surpassed by any church in Ireland, or probably in England. The symmetry of the whole house and the beauty of its details render it the most complete ecclesiastical building in the country. One distinguished personage on visiting it declared

that the Bishop must have dreamed it or else have been inspired; while another (a writer) described it as a "dream of beauty." Few are found in a generation who so easily preserve the dignity of a great position, while being possessed of the most sincere and practical humility.

During the early seventies, when our late Bishop was engaged in several of the struggles with the bigoted oppressors of his people, a young priest, who had previously been a professor of St. Macartin's College, came as Administrator to Monaghan, and ably assisted Dr. Donnelly with such ability, patriotism, and single-mindedness, as marked him out a "coming man." This gentleman, the Most Rev. Richard Owens, D.D., has been recently consecrated successor of Dr. Donnelly; and with Dr. Owens' permission the Author dedicates this work to the present Bishop of Clogher. There is no one to whom the Author would prefer to dedicate this little book, after Dr. Donnelly, than to the present occupant of the See of Clogher, who has been elected by the priests, and chosen by the Pope, to be successor of our dear dead Bishop, the Most Rev. James Donnelly, D.D.

FAR-MEEHUL, MONAGHAN,
September, 1894.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF MONAGHAN.

INTRODUCTION.

ONLY one book dealing with the History of this County has ever been written, to the Author's knowledge, that compiled by an Anglo-Irish Landlord, the late Mr. Shirley. It is said, that an old history of Monaghan still exists, written by a Mr. Mitchell, but no one in this neighbourhood appears to possess a copy of it, nor can a copy be found in any library with which the Author is acquainted. There is, however, another book dealing with portion of our recent history, written by an Irish Land Agent, Trench's "Realities of Irish Life."

Shirley's is a really great and valuable work, most of the information which it contains having been supplied by Dr. O'Donovan and Professor O'Curry. The Author, who is more of an Englishman than an Irishman, protests loudly his impartiality, and proclaims to his readers the disinterested position he holds in dealing with the history of this County. But Mr. Shirley was possessed of nearly all the bad qualities of our Irish shoneen, and at every opportunity the blackest hostility and vilest partiality makes its appearance throughout the pages of his voluminous book; and the only impression which any fair-minded man would have, after reading the book is, that the author was filled with hatred of the Irish country and the Irish people. It is very amusing to see his efforts to *make* pedigrees for our local snobocracy, and to turn the present landlords of the county into gentlemen of ancient families.

As to Mr. Trench's book, it was written as a sensational speculation, full of all the absurd fictions, which, at the time of its publication, commanded the best price in the English market. The Very Rev. Archdeacon Smollen, now P.P. of Enniskillen, and at the time of the publication of the book, Parish Priest of Donaghmoynne, wrote a number of able letters in the "Dundalk Democrat," completely overturning most of Trench's fallacies, and convicted him of the grossest exaggerations; while the late Isaac Butt wrote and published a trenchant letter which convicted Mr. Trench of untruthfulness.

Both Messrs. Shirley and Trench have written of the Irish people who inhabit the County Monaghan, from the standpoint of the English colonist in Ireland, filled with hatred towards us, while the Author of these pages writes as an Irishman who loves his country and his people.

The writer makes no apology for writing of a portion of Ireland as an Irishman, and of declaring his intention of so doing. If he stated otherwise, he would be sailing under false colours, and would thereby imitate the mode of proceeding of the majority of anti-Irish writers, both in England and Ireland, who, though never tired of asserting their disinterestedness and impartiality, seldom lose an opportunity of vilifying our country and our people.

Most of the information contained in the following pages has been collected from a variety of sources, from books already published, parliamentary blue books, old newspapers, journals, State papers, and county and national records, never before given to the public, and some private correspondence.

The Author has abstained from attacking the historical (?) structures set up by Mr. Shirley on weak foundations, or his attempt to create *ancestors* for the shoneens and snobs of this county, for he considered it no part of his present work. Nor has he the space to deal as fully with Mr. Shirley as he should.

A good many omissions and some errors may be found in this Edition, but as the several chapters of it were written at different times in a country town, without access to a library of any importance, and as a large quantity of its contents has never before seen the light, the writer will be excused for his want of perfection in his first attempt in this sphere. Again, the Author performed this work during hours stolen from recreation, from professional engagements, and even from sleep. Still he feels proud and happy at having rescued from obscurity the many historical facts which, in another generation, would have been lost and forgotten, and that for the first time—

“Many a deed may wake in praise,
That long hath slept in blame.”

CHAPTER I.

OLD MONAGHAN.

It often happens that many persons who are well acquainted with the history of their country have little knowledge of the story of the immediate locality to which they belong, and this is remarkably so in our native town of Monaghan, where few materials are available for the compilement of our local history. And when at a recent meeting of the Monaghan Parish Branch of the Irish National Federation the writer was called upon for a paper to be read before the Branch, he thought the best subject he could treat was one which would give a general idea of our ancient town and its surroundings. The hurried manner in which these few notes have been jotted down between hours of business will be the writer's excuse for the many blots and omissions which may be found amongst the following pages.

In ancient times, before the "Saxon set his foot" on the sod of our native land, the district of country now occupied by the County of Monaghan, was then called West Oirgial (or Oriel), and the parish now called Monaghan was called Rackwallace. Near the shore of a small lake from which our barony took its name, Lough Tigh, a certain saint called Maclodius or Malodius founded an Abbey sometime about the 6th century. A small village grew up around its gates called Muineachan, which, according to some authorities, means the "Town of the Monks," and according to others a place surrounded by little hills. Very little is recorded of the abbey or village from the 8th to the 15th century, except the election or death of its learned abbots or pious monks, and the plundering of the abbey by the Danes. About 1350 two branches of the M'Mahon family quarrelled, and the Chief of Muineachan, Bryan

M'Hugh M'Mahon was expelled from Rath-Tulad, (now called Tullyforth), where the family had lived up to then. The Irish restored the abbey and town after the overthrow of the Danes.

In 1417 Lord Furnival, at the head of the English army, crossed the Pale and devastated the whole of Oirgial, burned all the "towns and corn," and killed and wounded a great multitude of people, and carried off all the cattle they could catch. In this raid the town and abbey of Muineachan were again burned. While private quarrels distracted the Irish Chiefs, the old abbey and village of Muineachan appear to have been completely dismantled and deserted. During these troubled times, when war laid in ruins many a home, the M'Mahons, chiefs of Oirgial, for protection and safety, built a small house in the island of the lake of Muineachan, from which the lake and barony took its name of Lough Tigh (the Lake of the house); and in the year 1442, The M'Mahon of Oirgial, whose Christian name was Phelim (the son of Bryan, the son of Ardgall), restored the monastery and placed in it Friars Minor (Franciscans) instead of the Canons Regular of the Order of St. Augustine, who formerly occupied the ancient abbey.

For many years an old quarrel lay smouldering between the people of Lough Tigh and the people of Dartrey. In 1496 The M'Mahon, or over lord of all West Oirgial, was the Chief of the clans of Dartrey, and had his castle and principal town near where Rockcorry now stands. His name was Hugh Ogue M'Mahon (the son of Hugh Roe, son of Rorey). In the above year his two sons, Gilla Patrick and Rorey, accompanied by 16 scollogs (farmers), came by night into Muineachan and killed Glushuiagh M'Redmond M'Rory M'Mahon of Lough Tigh in his own house. They took as a hostage a youth named Rossa M'Mahon, son of Manus, son of Hugh Roe. This murder was the cause of a serious war, which kept Oirgial in trouble and sorrow for many years. In those times, and down from the first English

invasion, the result of war was for the conquerors to lay waste the lands of the conquered, to carry off all their portable property, and burn and destroy all they could not carry away.

Glushuiagh's brother Bryan and his sons collected their whole clans and marched into Dartrey, and attacked M'Mahon's town and castle, which they took and burned, and carried off some prey, though an equal number were killed on both sides, and the Lough Tigh men had to retreat to their own territory. O'Hanlon of East Oirgial (now Armagh) joined Bryan and made another attack on the Dartrey clans. The battle was fought near the partially restored town of M'Mahon, and the Dartrey men were again routed; Gilla Phadruig, the murderer of Glushuiagh, was killed, and his father Hugh Ogue (The M'Mahon), fled into Brefney and persuaded O'Reilly to espouse his cause, while the rest of the warriors of his clan fled to Farney, where the whole Farney clans rose to their assistance.

The English of the Pale, finding now that a great war was raging so near their borders, and seeing an opportunity of getting a foothold in Ulster, at once took sides with the wrongdoers, and sent an army to assist Hugh Ogue, the Farney M'Mahons, and the O'Reillys of Brefney. The clans of Lough Tigh, Trough, Cremorne, and the O'Hanlons were now sorely pressed; one-half of their army were trying to keep the Farney men and the English at bay along the Aughnamullen Hills, while the other half were fighting O'Reilly on the borders of Dartrey.

O'Donnell of Tirconnell, who was then the principal chief of Ulster, coming to know of the English crossing the Pale, and dreading the effect of an English settlement in Ulster, marched at the head of a large army to the aid of the Oirgiallians. His first move was to crush O'Reilly on his flank, and then turn and face the English. This he accomplished by leaving the half of the Oirgiallians where they were in Aughnamullen, and joining the other half and attacking O'Reilly and Hugh Ogue

M'Mahon. A couple of successful skirmishes brought the Tirconnellians and the Oirgiallians into the Territory of Brefney, where a short but desperate battle was fought, in which the Brefneians were completely crushed. The usual result followed, and all East Brefney, from Dartrey border to Cavan town, was devastated, and the town itself was taken after a short resistance and razed to the ground.

The victorious army, after having got rid of this troublesome foe from their flank, proceeded towards Farney, which they entered south of Ballytrain; the English and the Farney men at once faced the Tirconnellians and Oirgiallians, and while the battle raged, the other half of the Oirgiallians, who had been holding the English in check, and who followed them up suddenly, came on the right flank of the foe, and a great victory was gained for Ulster. The English and some of the Farney and Dartrey clans retreated across the Pale. They threw garrisons into all the castles and fortresses of the Pale, to keep the Ulster men at bay, while another English army was collected from Dublin, Meath, and Louth. The Ulster army now grew to great proportions, being joined by most of the minor clans of Farney and Dartrey, in addition to the rest of East and West Oirgial, part of Brefney, and O'Donnell's army from Tirconnell. All the fortresses were forthwith attacked and taken in a wondrous short time, and the Ulster men pressed forward and met the English near the town of Louth. The English were drawn up on a hill facing the north-west. The archers were in front, while the centre was a line of light troops, armed with spears and shields, made up of Irish kerns, who resided within the Pale, and the rere was occupied by heavy infantry clad in steel and armed with spears, heavy swords, and battle axes; on the flanks were the cavalry, armed like the heavy infantry. The Irish soon appeared in a long line of kerns or light infantry, each man armed with a couple of spears, and a shean or dagger and shield; but this array was made up of the small clans of Oriel joined together in

one line; each clan was headed by its piper. The line was flanked by mounted kerns, while behind marched the solid line of Gallowglass, heavy infantry, armed with spears, battle axes, swords, and sheans, some covered with chain armour, and others merely carrying shields.

As the Irish army slowly advanced, the English archers fired on them, and the mounted kerns charged down on the archers and drove them from the field. The English heavy cavalry, which consisted principally of the knights of the Pale, flanked by English light cavalry, charged the mounted kerns, who divided and fled to the left and right of the line, while the English galloped after them. This left the centre clear, and the whole Ulster clans, who had been quietly marching forward behind the cavalry, advanced at the charge, the pipers playing, and the clansmen shouting their war cry. So close had they come before they were observed, and so rapidly did they charge, that the English archers had barely time to fire more than a couple of arrows towards them, when they were on top of them. The archers were not good swordsmen, and could not withstand the onslaught of the Ulster kerns, so they were driven pell-mell in on top of the English light armed troops, and broke their line in several places. The Irish followed up these advantages by dashing into these gaps. The English made desperate resistance for a short time, devoting much of their energies to kill the pipers whose music was well known to have greater effect in rousing the "Irish enemy" in battle, than the command of the chiefs. When the effect of this charge was noticed by the English General, he ordered back the cavalry, who on their return were followed by the Irish Gallowglass, flanked by the mounted kerns, and before the English knights had time to rally, they were thrust by the Gallowglass in on top of the English centre, which was then striving to keep in check the Irish clans who had broken through the second English line. Thus the whole army was thrown into confusion, and had to fight at close quarters with

the Irish, who, having their bodies comparatively free, could easily crush beneath them the English soldiers and knights encumbered with steel armour and harness. The English soon broke up and fled, leaving many knights and nobles of the Pale, and freemen from Dublin, Drogheda, and Dundalk dead and wounded on the field behind them.

Most of the English fled into the fortifications of Dundalk, while the rest took refuge in the castles in the southern parts of Magher Oriel (Louth). O'Donnell followed the English to Dundalk, and having neither the time nor the means to besiege Dundalk, left sufficient force around it to invest it, and turned on the remaining castles and minor fortresses of Magher Oriel. Everything gave way before the victorious Ulster Irish; the castles and towns were all abandoned at their approach, and the English were driven beyond the Boyne. We are told the saddest words in real life as well as in fiction, are: "What might have been." But they appear saddest when read in Irish history. "What might have been" had Tyrone, Fermanagh, Brefney, Dalriada, and all the rest of Ulster sent assistance to O'Donnell and the Oirgiallians, enabling them to follow up this victory, by storming Dundalk and Drogheda, and crossing the Boyne, and driving the English into Dublin Bay as Brian Boru had the Danes. When O'Donnell saw he had not sufficient forces to permanently occupy Louth, he and the Oirgiallians returned home, carrying with them all the cattle, horses, and moveable effects in the County Louth, and burning and destroying all the towns, castles, houses, and crops, and in fact, everything they were unable to carry, leaving the whole beautiful plain of Magher Oriel from the Boyne to Slieve Gullion one dreary desert, covered with black and smoking ruins, so that our ancestors of old Muineachan had their hills covered with cattle and sheep, fattened on the rich plains of Louth, and their stables filled with the steeds of the knights of the Pale.

This terrible devastation of a rich country, and wanton

destruction of private property, is very repugnant to us who live in the end of the 19th century, but we must remember that the people of Magher Oriel had made several raids into West Oirgial, and the lords and knights of the Pale had raided all parts of Ulster they could get at, and everywhere they had set foot in, they laid waste with fire and sword, and doubtless the dams and sires of many of the cattle and horses carried off in this war, had been stolen by the men of the Pale from the Ulster Irish.

Poor Hugh Ogue never returned to Dartrey, but died shortly afterwards in Farney in disappointment and grief; filled with mourning at his own overthrow and sorrow for the many friends whose ruin he brought about. On his death his son Bryan was "made" The M'Mahon by his followers, but was never acknowledged by the majority of the clans of Oirgial. The year after his proclamation he quarrelled with M'Guinness of Iveagh, and started on a raiding expedition with all the followers he could gather for M'Guinness's country. M'Guinness collected his forces, and gave him battle, routed the M'Mahons, and killed the unfortunate Bryan. His descendants and followers settled finally in the upper part of the parish of Magheross, near Ballytrain. Rossa, the son of Manus, who had been carried off from Lough Tigh, was "made" The M'Mahon, immediately on the death of Bryan, and was acknowledged by all the clans of Oirgial. The descendants of Redmond continued to hold Lough Tigh, and to protect the town and monastery of Muineachan.

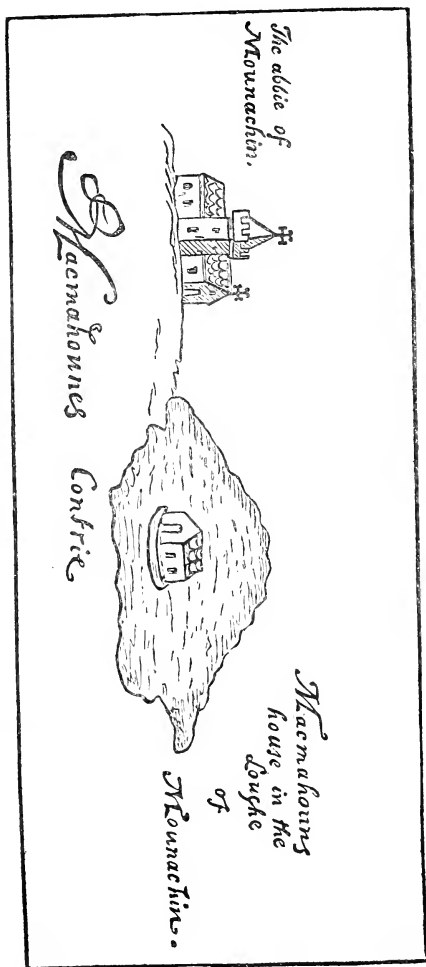
The result of this unhappy war was to create an estrangement between Farney and Lough Tigh, which continued for several generations, and sometimes the M'Mahons of Farney were allies of the English of Louth, but were generally at war with them; and when at war, the English sometimes made raids into Farney, and stole the cattle of the Irish, while the Farney men always returned the compliment with interest. But neither M'Mahon of Farney nor the English of Louth could

make any headway into Lough Tigh, for the hills of Aughnamullen formed a barrier which protected Muineachan, and in the glens of Cremorne, the Lough Tigh and Dartrey men defended their property against all foes from the south.

In the year 1508 Redmond's son, Redmond Ogue M'Mahon, was guilty of a sacrilegious deed which brought shame on the whole clan of the M'Mahons of Lough Tigh. He had some dispute with Maguire of Fermanagh. Philip (son of Edmond) Maguire of Fermanagh was on a visit with M'Kenna of Trough, and while Maguire and M'Kenna were assisting at Mass in Donagh old church, on St. Patrick's day, the M'Mahons surrounded the church and called on M'Kenna to surrender Maguire to him. M'Kenna refused, and M'Mahon set fire to the roof of the church. The priest addressed the congregation and invoked on them the blessing of God and of St. Patrick. Maguire and M'Kenna sallied forth, and after a determined fight, slew Redmond Ogue and many of his followers, and put the rest to flight. With this disgraceful exception, for nearly a century the power of the M'Mahons kept at bay both native traitor and foreign foe, until at last, all our countrymen were overcome, and the monastery of Muineachan was in 1540 plundered and destroyed by the Protestant English soldiers of Henry VIII. Of that terrible day we have little record except that the Guardian and a number of Friars were beheaded, and the monastery turned for a time into a British fortress. Tradition pointed out the graves of the martyred Guardian and monks as near the Holy Well, which was filled in, and covered up many years ago by the building of the Provincial Bank, on the North road. The British rebuilt and remodelled the town, but they do not appear to have enjoyed it long, for the M'Mahons were in full power and occupation of it some years afterwards. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, about the year 1580, a family quarrel arose among the M'Mahons about the division of the estates of Rossa Buidha M'Mahon, who had died without issue,

and his brother Hugh Ruadh M'Mahon, the Tanist or heir in an unlucky moment called in the English Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam, to settle the dispute. Fitzwilliam, taking advantage of the quarrel, seized on Monaghan, and placed a Sheriff and a garrison in possession of the town and fortress; and because M'Mahon complained, he was arrested on a false charge, but the jury who tried M'Mahon could not be induced to find an innocent man guilty, and were discharged. Fitzwilliam then hit on a plan which has been imitated in all political trials, even to our own times, viz., of "packing a jury," who performed their work, by finding M'Mahon guilty, and he was publicly executed in the Diamond of Monaghan. This judicial murder following so vile a plot had the effect of sending several of the Ulster Irish into arms against the English, and to join Hugh O'Neill and Hugh O'Donnell, who were then beginning their war against Elizabeth.

There is a small picture still extant of the Monastery of Muineachan, drawn in 1590, from which it appears that the site is near where the Convent Schools or Presbytery is now situate. The picture also shows M'Mahon's house on the Island in Lough Tigh (a copy of this picture has been transferred to next page); and also shows that the monastery was then restored and in proper repair. The discovery of this picture shakes all our previous opinions as to the site of the monastery, which local tradition pointed out as the southern side of the present Diamond. It is certain that a castle stood there, portions of which were used, up even until about 30 or 40 years ago, as business houses, and as we have the fact recorded in several of our annals, that the monastery was fortified, and that there is no mention made anywhere of the building of the castle, it is probable that during the wars the monastery was converted into a fortress, and that tradition is right in fixing the Diamond as the site. Besides, the distances may not have been very well preserved in the old picture referred to, and no trace has ever been discovered of the Monastic ruins elsewhere in the neighbourhood.



Under the sway of Hugh O'Neill and Hugh O'Donnell, during the reign of Elizabeth, the M'Mahons became less factionist and more National, were united and fought well for Ireland. In fact, an English writer, while abusing them, says they were "the proudest and most barbarous sept among the Irish and do ever soonest repine, and kick, and spurn the English Government."

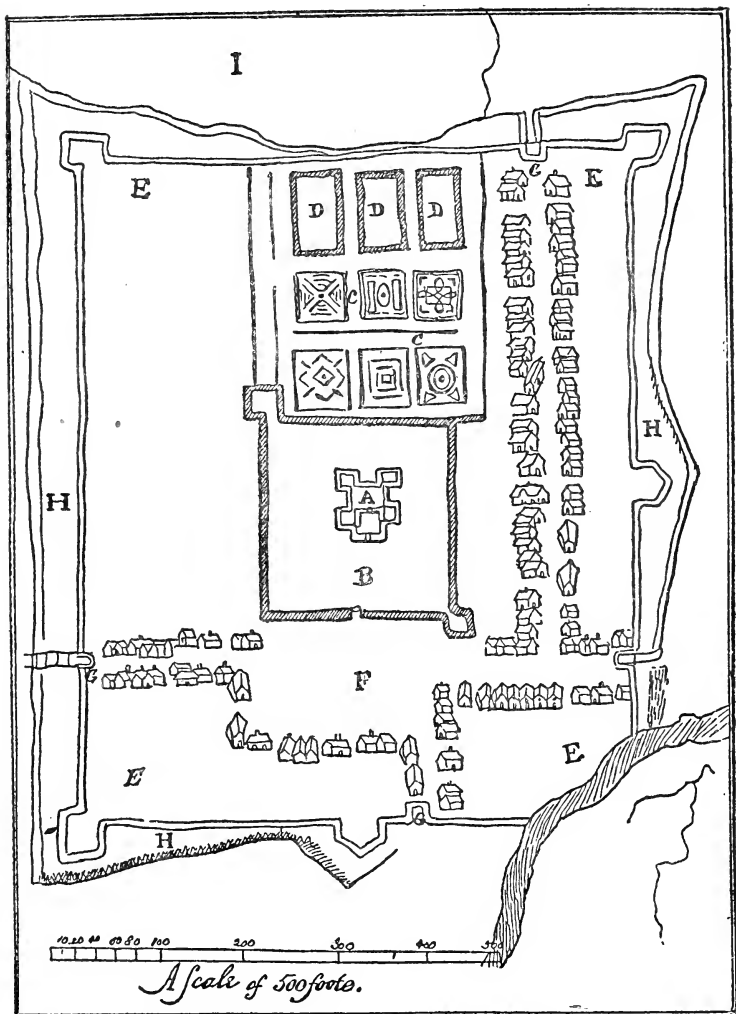
During the war which followed the murder of M'Mahon by the English, Monaghan was besieged and taken, and retaken and taken again. In fact, it stood five or six sieges, during these heroic struggles of the Ulster Irish against the English. It was during one of these sieges that the English army under Norris came from Newry to relieve the town which O'Neill had invested, that the famous battle of Clontibret was fought in June 1595. I will not here attempt to describe that victory of our heroic ancestors. Suffice it to say, that the English were completely defeated, with the loss of some of their best generals, all their artillery, baggage, etc. The town capitulated a few days afterwards, and was held by the Irish until the end of the war in 1603, when the last struggles of O'Neill and O'Donnell terminated in a treaty, by which the English possessed themselves of all the garrisons, including Monaghan, out of which they soon afterwards expelled the Irish. The old Irish, who were driven to the hills in the neighbourhood, appear not to have been content with this robbery, and made attacks on the town at intervals, the result of which was that the town and castle were deserted, and left in ruins by the English, who could not withstand these repeated surprises. About 1608, Sir Edward Blayney got a grant of the place from the Government, and rebuilt one of its forts. When the Lord Deputy visited the town about this time, he found only the fort, and about fifty huts occupied by soldiers, and everything else in ruins. A sum of money was granted by the King to repair the fortress, and in 1611 Sir E. Blayney got a grant of the markets and fairs. In 1613 the town was created a Borough, with a right to send two members to the old

Irish Parliament. The first members, who were returned on 13th April, 1613, were Thomas Reeves, T.C.D., Dublin; and Henry Conlie, Gent. of Monaghan. The Corporation of Monaghan, which was then also established, consisted of a Provost, twelve free Burgesses, and an unlimited number of Freemen; a Recorder, and some other officers. All these have long since disappeared. There were very few elections during the 17th century, as owing to the repeated efforts of our ancestors to gain back our country, the English inhabitants had much more to do than sending members to Parliament. Queen Elizabeth confiscated the whole country, and Cromwell had the pleasure of re-confiscating a great deal of it; for many of the recipients of Elizabeth's favour never got more than an estate on paper, and knew better than to come to Monaghan to grab land. Most of the M.P's. for Monaghan Borough, in the 17th century, resided in Dublin, and other parts of Ireland outside Monaghan, and probably never saw Monaghan; but being on the spot where the Parliament met, they, no doubt, considered themselves much safer in getting elected by the filling of an official return, than by going to Monaghan to canvass for votes.

The Civil War of 1641 affected Monaghan considerably, for one of the first conspirators was The M'Mahon, and when Owen O'Connolly got drunk and informed on the Irish Chiefs in 1641, M'Mahon and Maguire were arrested in Dublin, and brought before the Lords Justices, where they gloried in their plot for the liberation of their country. They were brought over prisoners to London, where M'Mahon suffered the most cruel tortures, and was ultimately put on the *rack*, and when no betrayal could be extorted from him, he was beheaded at Tyburn in 1644 along with Maguire. Thus died this heroic Monaghan man, a martyr for his country. His Christian name was Hugh, after his maternal grandfather, the great Hugh O'Neill. In his youth he joined the Spanish army, in which he rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and was just the

class of man to head the rising, but wholly unqualified as a conspirator.

The absurd and lying stories of massacres, got up by the new settlers and land-grabbers in other parts of Ireland at this period, did not affect Monaghan much, for these gentry were in too great a hurry away to manufacture stories, they knowing well they were robbers, and not wishing to be caught with the stolen goods in their possession, appear to have departed at the first alarm. We find a few of them stating they had been deprived of their cattle, and making a long complaint of wrongs, containing as little truth as the modern claim for malicious injury of a boycotted land-grabber or emergency bailiff. When O'Neill took Monaghan, he hanged Lord Blayney's son in retaliation for M'Mahon's execution. The pear tree on which he was hanged was pointed out in the garden where the old castle in the Diamond above mentioned stood, and was cut down about thirty-five years ago, by the man who rebuilt that side of the street. In an old map of the town of a somewhat earlier date than this war (a copy of which is on next page), there were but four streets and the Diamond in almost the same position as it now is, the south side of the latter being occupied by the castle, the gardens and pleasure grounds of which extended as far as the Convent Lake (then Lough Tigh). One street ran down part of Dublin Street, and was then, and for years after called Ballywollen Street, and the East Gate appears to have been about where the Misses Tierney's house is. Another street ran up part of the grounds occupied by Glasslough Street, and the North Gate was about where Mrs. Garrity's house is. The third street ran up where Mill Street now is, and the West Gate was close to Mr. M'Gurk's present house. The fourth street, which was the longest, came out of Mill Street at right angles, ran through where the Protestant church now stands, parallel to the castle and gardens to the Clones gate, where the lower gate of the Convent now is. Mill Street was afterwards further extended, and turning to



A. The Kings Castell.
 B. The Bawne being built all o' stone.
 C. The Garden.

D. The Fish ponde.
 E. The Towne.
 F. The Market place.

G. The Gates.
 H. The Diches.
 I. The Loughes.

the left along the back of the Market house terminated at the lower part of Park Street. This street was for many years called Clones Street. There was a wall round the town except where the lakes protected it.

During the gallant struggle of twelve years which followed 1641, Monaghan was not much exposed to the war. But Monaghan men fought well for Owen Roe O'Neill, and it was the divisions from Truagh and Monaghan whom he sent to intercept Monroe's brother coming from Coleraine to the Blackwater at Benburb. How well they discharged their mission, is seen by the fact that the Coleraine men never reached the Blackwater, and the Monaghan men were back in time to take part in that glorious day when the power of England in Ulster was shaken to its very foundation. At the battle of Benburb, and all through the war, the patriotic Bishop of Clogher, Eiver M'Mahon of Monaghan, accompanied the army, and when Owen Roe O'Neill died, he was elected general, being the only man who could unite and keep together all the Irish of Ulster; but, in 1660 he risked a battle with the English in Co. Donegal, in which fatal fight his army was defeated, and the last hope of the Ulster Irish vanished. Eiver M'Mahon was shortly afterwards taken prisoner and was executed at Enniskillen by an officer whose life he had preserved on a former occasion. M'Mahon was buried in Devenish Island, and no monument or stone was raised to his memory until his successor, our late patriotic Bishop of Clogher, placed a statue to him in the magnificent Cathedral of St. Macartan, in Monaghan. It is very hard to trace the descent of the noble house of M'Mahon, for those of them who did not go into exile, were absorbed into the peasantry of our country, and many a humble thatched roof in our county contains under it more noble blood than the whole of the mansions of our present county snobocracy. Some of the M'Mahon's names were changed into other Irish names, as will be explained in a subsequent chapter, and some were Anglicised. The descendants of Glushniagh, who was

killed in 1496, came through his son Redmond, who was married twice : first, to the daughter of O'Neill ; and second, to the daughter of the Geraldine of Kildare. By the former he had four sons, viz., Glushniagh Ogue, Bryan, Manus, and Toal ; by the latter, one son, Art Moyle. Glushniagh Ogue was the ancestor of the M'Mahons who always lived about Monaghan, and took part against the English in every war and rebellion that arose in Ulster, while the race lasted. Some went to Spain, some to France, and others to South America, while of those who remained in Ireland, the last of the family died in Monaghan about sixty years ago, and is buried in the old Parish Church graveyard, Latlurcan. He left two sons, one of whom entered the English army, and had risen to the rank of Colonel, when he was stationed in the barrack of Monaghan, about the time of the Crimean war. The other son resided at Castleblayney until his death ; his children emigrated to America. Redmond's second son, Bryan, was grandfather of Hugh Roe, who was put to death by Fitzwilliam. Bryan had another grandson called Ross, who lived at Corfinlough, and is said to have been the great-grandfather of Glushniagh M'Mahon of Ballybay. This Glushniagh had a son, Roger, who had two sons named Bernard and John. There is no descendant of Bernard now alive except his daughter, Mrs. Fitzpatrick of Cormeen House, Ballybay. John was a surgeon in the British army, and died leaving issue.

Manus and Toal settled in Trough, and the M'Mahons who reside there, are their descendants.

The six sons of Art Moyle, viz., Patrick, Rorey, Art-Bwee, Ross, Toal, and Redmond, declined to submit to Elizabeth after the overthrow of O'Neill and O'Donnell, and they settled on the south-eastern slopes of Slieve Beagh, where, amid its fastnesses, they held their own against all the power of the English Government. From these six men all the M'Mahons of College Lands are descended.

Most of the other M'Mahon families went to Spain and France.

The M'Mahons who remained in Ireland assembled a regiment for King James, and fought at the Boyne, Athlone, Limerick, and Aughrim; the muster roll shows thirteen companies of a total of 650 men, under command of Colonel Art Ogue M'Mahon, Lord Lieutenant of Co. Monaghan. He was killed at the siege of Athlone. Bryan M'Mahon and Hugh M'Mahon were the two Deputy Lieutenants, and Members of the "Patriot Parliament" for the County of Monaghan. The Borough sent no representative to that famous assembly. Lord Blayney was the only Peer from this County who sat in the House of Lords under King James, which seat he occupied as Baron of Monaghan.

During the reign of King James II., when the Catholics got some fair play, the first act of the Monaghan Catholics was to restore the monastery, and collect into it the Friars who had been carrying on their duties through the country, at the peril of their lives. The Bishop of the Diocese, the Most Rev. Patrick Tyrrell, came out of his hiding and took up his lodgings in the restored monastery. There was great pomp at the ceremony of reopening of the monastery, and consecrating the buildings, at which the Bishop presided.

When William III. had conquered Ireland, Monaghan was re-occupied by the English settlers, and no Irishman or Catholic dare live within its walls. During the penal times God only knows how the Catholics of the country about Monaghan managed to live with the garrison in the town always on the watch for priests and Papists. During those long and dark penal days, the glen now occupied by the Corby Rock Mill, was the spot where Mass was generally celebrated. There were no roads or lanes through it as now, and a man always kept watch towards the town from Killyvane Hill, lest the garrison would surprise and murder the priest and people. This old glen brings to our minds two eras of our history. Its name betokens it to have been the property of the Abbot from Comharba (Coarba), an abbot or successor of a saint, and the Baughn of

penal days, with the rough or damp ground for a floor, and the cloudy sky for a roof, where our brave ancestors worshipped God, and heard Mass at the risk of their lives.

Priest-hunting appears to have been a lucrative occupation of the Loyalists in those days. For the infamous Penal Code contained a law, rewarding persons who informed on Catholic Clergy, etc., viz., for discovering on an Archbishop, Bishop, or Vicar-General, £50; on Priests, £20; and on Catholic Schoolmasters, £10. There are many traditions still extant of priest-hunting during these dark times, on only one of which I will touch here.

There was a priest named M'Kenna, who used to look after the spiritual wants of the people of Slieve Beagh, and parts of Truagh. The government officials were constantly on the look-out for him, but always failed to catch him, owing to the careful guardianship of his faithful people. However, information was brought to Monaghan, that on a certain morning before daylight, he was to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass on a Druidical Stone, in Broughan-Shee-Bragan. A party of soldiers were dispatched early in the night, and having proceeded through the townland of Eshcloughfin, sometime before daydawn, they observed the light of the two candles on the altar. The officer fearing to approach too close to the place where the people assembled, lest some of the scouts who always were on the "look-out" for surprises from soldiers and priest-hunters, would detect him, and that the priest would thereby escape, detached a good marksman and told him to approach within gunshot, cover one of the lights, and to fire when it was darkened by the priest passing before it. This command he executed, and when the priest moved to read the last gospel, fired. The ball passed through the priest's head. The place where he fell can still be seen in Bragan, and is called Lath-na-taggart. There was a hole in the Druidical Stone, which some modern people say was caused by the bullet. This is manifestly absurd,

for the most modern rifle could not have perforated it in like manner.

When labour began to get scarce by the emigration of the Presbyterians in the middle of the eighteenth century, the Catholics were permitted to come to work within the walls of the town, but were required to live outside in a place called the Pound, now the Pound Hill, where they were impounded after the nine o'clock bell rang. The custom of ringing the bell at nine o'clock, p.m., was kept up until recent times in Monaghan, to remind us of our former slavery, and is still practised in Derry, and other northern towns.

Henry Blayney, Lord Baron of Monaghan, having sided with King James II. for a while, covered his estate with a mortgage to protect himself from confiscation, and the mortgagee of the Monaghan portions of his estate foreclosed, and sold the estate to a Williamite General, named Robert Echlin, who got the borough of Monaghan to return him as its member in 1695. Echlin sold the estate to a man called Cairns, and who was created a baronet (Sir Alexander). Cairns had one son (Sir Henry Cairns), who died without issue, and had one daughter, who married the then Lord Blayney; and he having died without issue, his widow re-married a man called John Murray. The estates descended to Mrs. Murray, who had five daughters, but no sons.

These daughters were married as follows: the eldest to Lord Claremont, who had no male issue, and while the estate was in her hands, she began to build her castle where the Monaghan Tennis Court is now. Before she had proceeded far with the building, she changed it into a farmyard, but died before it was complete. On Lady Claremont's death the estate passed to the second daughter, who was married to General Cunningham. Cunningham, when the estate passed to his wife, got the patronage of the Borough. In 1796 he bargained with Castlereagh for the two votes for the Union of the borough members. The price he received was the creation of the title of Lord Rossmore. There was no

issue of this marriage, and on the death of Lady Rossmore, the third daughter having died unmarried, the estate would have descended to the fourth daughter, who was wife of a gentleman called Jones, who had one son, but both mother and son pre-deceased Lady Rossmore, so it descended to the fifth daughter, wife of a Mr. Westenra. Westenra belonged to a wealthy family of Dublin shopkeepers and tradesmen, from whom the present owners of the estate are descended. The first Westenra who represented the borough of Monaghan in Parliament, was about 1775 when he "kept the seat warm" for one of his wife's relations, "Fortescue." The title of Rossmore died with Cunningham's widow, but was re-established at the beginning of the present century.

In the last Parliament that sat in Dublin, 1799, Henry Westenra and William Fortescue represented the borough of Monaghan. In Sir Jonah Barrington's "Black List," which contains the corrupt gang of traitors to their country, the names of Henry Westenra and William Fortescue appear as giving that treasonable vote which destroyed the nationality of their country, and wiped out of history our native town of Monaghan, for the old Borough was disfranchised by the Act of Union.

At the end of old songs and ballads it was the custom to conclude with a moral, but what necessity is there for me to add a moral here ; for such can be traced in every line of the history of our town, as well as of our own country. Faction, family quarrels, and drink have opened the gates for our enemies, and that the last betrayal was made by two of that mongrel breed, who, though nominally Irishmen, hate their country and their people, and bear not one noble or patriotic sentiment in their hearts.

I must now conclude by hoping that lessons of the past may become our beacons of the future, and that if we do not gain much, we have lost nothing by learning the lesson of old Monaghan.

CHAPTER II.

THE UNITED IRISHMEN IN MONAGHAN.

IN the preceding Chapter, the writer abstained from any reference to the United Irishmen's Society, and the stirring events at the close of the last century, as he considered the subject should be dealt with separately.

For some years before the formation of the United Irishmen's Society, there had been considerable disturbance in the county, caused by party fights, originating in secret societies. The Protestants had different organizations, the principal of which was the "Peep-o'-Day-Boys," while the Catholics were dependent on the "Defenders." Many of the breaches of the law committed by the Defenders were brought to light, and the members of the society imprisoned and hanged; while owing to the spirit in which the law was administered, hardly any of the Protestants were brought to justice. On one occasion, we find a Protestant body of men being brought to trial for raids for arms on houses of the country people. These men called themselves the "Ashfield Association," and resided near Cootehill. In their energy to maintain "law and order" they broke into several houses at night, looking for arms, but, in an evil moment for themselves, they raided in the houses of some Protestants on the same business, and for this offence they were forthwith arrested.

The great effort of the United Irish Leaders was to unite all parties and to form one grand society of Irishmen, and this they succeeded very well in doing, under the circumstances, as far as the County Monaghan was concerned. The Presbyterians and Catholics of this county, especially those who resided in and near Glasslough and Newbliss, joined and bound themselves together for the liberation of their country in the United Irishmen's organisation. The first intimation

the Government appear to have got that people's minds were running beyond mere party or faction fights, was in 1794, when one James Duffy got excited in Castleblayney, and shouted success to the French Revolution, and cursed the Duke of York, and the King's army. At each assizes held at that period in Monaghan, numbers of young men were brought up charged with raiding for arms at night; and in 1796, one James Moan, of Monaghan, was tried, convicted, and sentenced to be put in the pillory in the Diamond of Monaghan, for tendering an unlawful oath of secrecy to one William Gillespie, which oath is believed to have been the United Irishmen's oath. The pillory was a wooden frame attached to the steps of the old cross in the Diamond, and the criminal stood erect, fastened with his head through a hole in the upper boards of the frame. The people around used to throw dirt, eggs, etc., at the unfortunate prisoner's head. However, when political prisoners were put in at this period, at first they were received with silent respect, and this James Moan would have been similarly received had not a man called Battersby, who resided in the Diamond, and who had some old quarrel with Moan, supplied eggs and other missiles to some children, and induced them to pelt Moan. At the Summer assizes of 1796, William Armstrong and John Monaghan, of Clones, were indicted for tendering the United Irishmen's oath to Robert Gregg, stating that it was a brotherhood that all might join. From this on the brotherhood of the United Irishmen spread rapidly in the County Monaghan, and no amount of Government persecution seemed to check it. The principal leader of this portion of the County Monaghan was Mr. Burke Rice, of Leitrim, in the parish of Tyholland, a member of that family which, both before and since, has furnished so many patriots willing to strive, struggle, and suffer for their country. The United Irish Societies in the County Monaghan appear to have been formed into a Revolutionary Society about 1795-6, and the old inferior societies, consisting of about

thirty-five members each, divided themselves into subordinate societies of twelve members each ; the secretary of each twelve members was appointed a non-commissioned officer. Each five societies formed a company of 60 men, and the delegate of these five societies was appointed captain of the company. The delegate of ten of these companies was appointed colonel of the battalion, which was thus composed of 600 men. The colonels of the battalions in each county sent in the names of the three persons to the Executive Directory of the union, one of whom was appointed adjutant general of the county. Thus each county had its division, and each province its army ; and at one time there were in Ireland 500,000 members of the society. The whole County of Monaghan was well organised, and all were anxious to propagate the society, but in this a good deal of indiscretion was exhibited ; for every assizes numbers of men were charged with tendering the United Irishmen's oath to others, who would inform on them, which ended in a trial at the following assizes, and sometimes not even there. In reading over the record of those days, one is almost led to believe he is reading of the present day, so similar are the names of places and people ; but, alas ! how changed are the politics of the degenerate offspring of some of the United Irishmen. At the Monaghan assizes in 1797, Thomas Armstrong, of Loughans, County Tyrone, William Armstrong, of Bloomfield (the house lately occupied by Very Rev. D. Canon O'Connor, P.P., of Errigal Truagh), and John Delop, of Grange, were tried for swearing in Thomas Hanna, of Killydonnelly, a United Irishman in Cussee. Thomas Armstrong was also tried for swearing in Samuel Longmore and Samuel Mitchell in Ballinode, while Thomas Armstrong, David Hanna, Edward M'Carney, and another Samuel Longmore were tried for a like offence. The trial broke down, owing to Thomas Hanna and Samuel Longmore not swearing against the prisoners what the Government expected they would swear, so they were all acquitted. But Hanna

and Longmore were returned for trial for perjury. On the person of Thomas Armstrong, who was arrested at Samuel Mitchell's house in Ballinode, were found the following documents: "The Declarations, Resolutions, and Constitutions of the Society of United Irishmen;" a written paper containing the following oath: "I, A. B., do solemnly swear that I will be ready to turn out in a short notice to support my former obligation, that is, an equal representation of all the people of Ireland in Parliament;" and a printed book called, "A Treatise concerning the Lord's Supper." The certificate of membership given to the United Irishmen by the secretary was of the most primitive kind. On 13th April, 1797, at the trial of George Johnston, Clincor (Cloncau), Hugh Meighan of Glasslough, and William Woods, Mullajordan, for tendering the oath to Bernard M'Keown at Glasslough, one William Murphy, an informer, gave evidence against Johnston, and produced the certificate given him by Johnston, when he was sworn in. The following is a copy: "I do certify that William Murphy has been duly elected, and having taken the test provided in the constitution, has paid. J. G., Secretary." The J. G. were Johnston's initials transposed. Johnston was sentenced to be hanged at Glasslough. The Monaghan Militia was called up, and as the Government began to find out the spread of the United Irishmen amongst the Militia Corps through the country, they were all removed to different districts, and the Monaghans were sent to the neighbourhood of Belfast, and were replaced in Monaghan by the Clare Militia, and in Carrickmacross by the Armagh Militia. These regiments were not long quartered here until the Monaghan men began to induce them to become United Irishmen. Owen Treanor, of Carrickmacross, was tried and acquitted for tendering the United Irishmen's oath to one of the Armagh Militia in Carrickmacross. One militiaman named Richard Thornton informed on Thomas Hastings for tendering the oath to him, and Thomas Hastings was tried twice—first time, a split jury, and second time

in September 1798, when he was convicted, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment, three times in the pillory, and publicly whipped through the streets of Monaghan. In the pillory he was received with all the honours of a patriot by our townsmen, and he suffered his corporal punishment like a man. The mode of whipping prisoners in those days was by tying the victim to the back of a cart in front of the old Court-house in the Diamond (the houses now occupied by Messrs. Crawford and Co., and Mr. Jenkins). The horse then walked down Ballywollen Street (now Dublin Street), and over the Pound Hill to a small suburb where St. Macartan's Cathedral now is, while the unfortunate prisoner's back was torn with the lash. One of the most remarkable incidents of the period is, that while one of the United Irishmen was undergoing this terrible torture, he never cried or murmured a complaint, though his torn flesh and blood spattered about the streets.

Almost the entire male population of Glasslough, of all creeds, were enrolled in the society for the liberation of their country. It was an important town at the time, for between it and the neighbouring village of Tullyree (now no more) there was a full regiment of 600 United Irishmen. The Government officials appear to have been in a terrible fix, for no informers of importance could be got in the country, and the only men brought to trial were those who would make a mistake, and tender the oath to some despicable traitor to his country. The name of Mr. Burke Rice appears to have been sent forward by the Monaghan colonels for the appointment of adjutant-general for the county, and some informer in Dublin or Belfast acquainted the Government, and the English Secretary, Pelham, issued a warrant for his arrest, and he was forthwith lodged in Monaghan gaol without a trial. The United Irishmen then adopted throughout the county the dangerous method of making midnight raids for arms on the houses of those who were not members of the society. The few weapons they got were not worth the risks they ran by

giving opportunities for wholesale charges to be made against the country people, and the danger of leaders being recognised by those in the houses they visited. From all parts of the country men were tried at each assizes for raiding for arms. It was for one of these unfortunate raids that Mr. Charles Johnston, the colonel of the United Irishmen of Glasslough, was arrested with fifty others, on the information of a man whose house was alleged to have been visited, named Alexander Byers, called by the country people "Weepy" Byers, of Drumgarron, brother-in-law of William Murphy who swore against George Johnston. In October, 1797, they were tried, and some were convicted. Charles Johnston, Francis Carbery, of Glasslough; Patrick M'Kenna and William M'Kenna, of Doaghies; William Patterson, of Glasslough; and John Hughes, of Sillis, were all sentenced to be hanged. Both Francis Carbery and John Hughes were martyred for their country, and were executed at Glasslough on Saturday, the 16th October, 1797. Hughes had a funeral a mile long; every man at it wore a red cross on his breast. The two M'Kennas and Patterson were detained for some time, but when it was found that they could be of no use to the Government, even though they turned traitors, which they refused to do, and some influential persons having interested themselves on their behalf, they were discharged. Poor Johnston was kept in prison for some months, where every effort was used to induce him to betray his countrymen, but all in vain. Ultimately, he was brought for execution to Glasslough, and even at the foot of the gallows he was offered life, liberty, and reward, if he would only inform on his comrades, but he again stoutly refused. As a last resource his mother was brought to him, and she was asked to try to induce him to become an informer. She boldly replied that though the sacrifice was great, she would never ask her darling son to stain his name. The execution was carried out, and thus died a hero of whom any nation might well be proud.

Warrants for acts in connection with the United Irishmen's Society were also issued for the following men, from the neighbourhood of Glasslough, some of whom were kept in prison for long periods, others were tried and acquitted, and many escaped':—Neil M'Quaid and Pat M'Kenna, Aughaloughan; Terence M'Kenna, Henry M'Quaid, Doaghies; Robert Riddell, John Heatly, and William Davidson, of Ballynaman; Pat Bradley, Clonhirk; James O'Neil, of Tullydur; Daniel M'Aleer and William Maxwell, Tullyhamagan; Owen Smollen, of Leek; Arthur O'Hare and Samuel Waddell, of Aghaboy; Hugh Boylan, of Donagh; James Crosby, Tulledin; Arthur M'Quaid, John M'Quaid, William Bell, and James Anderson, Coolcollid; Pat M'Quaid, James Duffy, J. Simpson, James Moyna, James M'Kenna, and Samuel M'Kenna, of Lowart; George Preston, Creighans; Pat M'Kenna, Pat M'Court, Hugh Quinn, Thomas, Edward, and Patrick O'Hanlon, of Killyboley; Pat Donnelly and John Bradley, of Clonlick; Pat Treanor, Thomas Duffy, and Thomas Fields, of Stramore; together with thirty or forty others from the towns of Glasslough and Tullyree.

One night when the Clontibret United Irishmen were at drill near where St. Mary's church now stands, one of the leaders suggested that they should "lift" the arms of the Yeomen in the neighbourhood. With this intention they proceeded to the house of one Boyd, in Kilcrow, where shots were exchanged; and Alexander Stewart, Boyd's brother-in-law, was shot, and the arms successfully carried off. Several men in the neighbourhood were arrested, but nothing could be proved against them, until one of their number turned informer, with the result that James Devlin, of Corkaskeagh, was tried and hanged in Monaghan on the 24th March, 1798. Most of the others escaped. Almost a similar incident took place in Tydavnet, early in 1798, when the arms of the Yeomen were "lifted" by the United Irishmen of Slieve Beagh. The arms of one Thomas Brigs, of Itereera, were taken, and he swore informations, and had a lot of

his neighbours arrested. None of the prisoners would inform, so the trial broke down, and the prisoners were acquitted. The following are the names of those charged :—Bernard and Denis M'Cluskey, Drumscoir ; Pat and Jas. Lappin, of same place ; George and Michael M'Cusker, of Knocknalun ; Owen M'Elroy, of Aughnameena ; and Pat Sherry, of Feebagh. At the same assizes some Aghabog men, Andrew Smith, James Sullivan, James Finlay, and Pat M'Phillips, were tried and acquitted for swearing in United Irishmen at Drum, while Pat Duffy, of Annagoes, was tried for unlawful assembly at Newbliss. Pat Prendergast, of Lacklevera, was tried for inducing Samuel King to go to a meeting of United Irishmen at James Glenhorn's, stating that a worthy man from Belfast would be there that night. Several batches of men from Aughnamullen were tried at each assizes. Seven men, named Patrick Clerkin, Francis O'Brien, Francis M'Elroy, Giles M'Lave' or Hand, Patrick Quilch or Hand, William Connolly, and Felix Duffy, were tried for taking arms from Thomas Woods, of Drumconeane, and were acquitted, while Stephen Sherlock and Felix Duffy were also acquitted for raiding for arms in Lisnadarragh. Pat O'Brien and John Duffy were tried for collecting money for seditious purposes ; and Michael Coyle, of Mahon, was tried for using seditious words. From Tullycorbet, Richard Mooney and Pat M'Ardle were tried for attempting to swear in United Irishmen, and were acquitted, while John Knox and James M'Girr (short) were tried and acquitted for similar offences.

The nearest approach to a rising was made by the United Irishmen of Tyholland and of the old town of Castleshane. A large quantity of arms and ammunition was being conveyed under an armed escort of soldiers from Charlemont Fort. The people got intimation of it, and arranged to attack and strive to carry off the arms and ammunition. The plot was cleverly conceived and secretly arranged, but the man selected to lead the carrying out of it, one Matthew Williamson, a hatter

from Groves, did not come to the scene of the intended action, and consequently, the men were not properly posted, and many of the men finding this, returned to their homes in disgust, but the more determined remained, and one of the Rices of Tyholland stepped into the gap, and led the "forlorn hope." The attack was made on the convoy at the old road through Killaniel, with considerable pluck, but without any apparent plan. A short but determined struggle was made. Some soldiers were wounded, and several of the United Irishmen were wounded, and some few killed. The gallant leader, James Rice, of Leitrim, was crippled for life from the effects of gunshot wounds received in the legs during the fight. It is sad to think what might have been the result had Williamson kept his appointment. With the arms and ammunition so captured in their hands, the United Irishmen of Monaghan might have kindled "a living blaze" in their county, which would have shone as bright as Wexford through all Irish history.

The parish and town of Monaghan were rather slow at first to organise, but once it was started it progressed rapidly. Perhaps it was thought better to have caution. The first members sworn in were principally Presbyterians, and the Colonel was Mr. Wm. Wright, of Dublin Street. There were only two Catholic officers, one was Mr. John Duffy (father of Sir Charles Gavan Duffy), but who the other was, I have been unable to ascertain. Drill meetings took place by night, in different fields around Monaghan, but seldom in the same place as on the preceding night. The captain of one of the companies in the country part of the parish, was Mr. Michael Hughes, of Aughnaseda, uncle of Mr. James Hughes, the present patriotic proprietor of Milltown Mills. "An oath was passed against him," and also against James Hughes, senior (father of our present worthy neighbour), and against George Smyth, of Coolmain, and James Smyth, of Tirfinnog, by one M'Connell, of Lisdrumdoagh, for raiding for arms. They were arrested on a

warrant, issued by Dacre Hamilton, brought to trial, and Michael Hughes was sentenced to long imprisonment, from which he escaped during his incarceration in Duncannon fort, just before the prisoners were bartered to the King of Prussia. In every county the Government had some strong supporter amongst the traitor Irishmen, whose hatred of his fellow-countrymen far exceeded that of any Englishman, and such a person was always the best instrument against the people. The principal mainstay of the Government in Monaghan was Dacre Hamilton of Cornacassa. His vile character has been so ably dealt with by other writers, that I will not venture to describe it here. It was through his instrumentality most of the United Irishmen were arrested, before him they were brought prisoners, and by him, in his capacity as a magistrate, they were sent for trial; and he, being such a willing tool, was the individual selected to fill the office of High Sheriff of this county, in 1798. He was commander of the Monaghan Yeomen, and was one morning astonished to hear from the Government in Dublin, that the whole Yeomanry of the county were more or less impregnated with United Irish ideas, and that many were members of the society. At parade the following day, he called on them to abandon the society, and threatened the usual pains and penalties, but all were mute. He then sent for some of the men he thought he could most rely on, and interrogated them, but they pleaded ignorance. At the subsequent meetings of the United Irishmen they laughed at how much he was astray in his inquiries. He then hit on a plan of sending a spy to join the body, and convey the information to him. Here the United Irishmen made a grave mistake in admitting any new members into the society when they found Hamilton so anxious about them. The first or second meeting the spy attended, when the members were going out, a chandler named Francis Fleming, threw a potato and hit Mr. Wright on the back of the head, and a short altercation

took place between Mr. Wright and those near him. The following day at the parade of the Yeomen, Hamilton again stated that there were United Irishmen amongst them, and called on them to come forward and renounce their connection with the society. All were as usual silent, and Hamilton, to the astonishment of the members, called out, "Frank Fleming, who hit Billy Wright in the back of the head with a potato?" Fleming was greatly surprised, and boldly stated it was he, but added, that he might be found amongst fools, but never amongst traitors. This incident had the effect of dissolving the society amongst the Yeomen, and at their last meeting, their leader stated they would not meet again until the "word" came from head-quarters in Belfast. Mr. John Hamill, of Rooskey Mills (grand-uncle of Mr. Robert Hamill, of Rooskey), was the leading United Irishman in the barony of Dartree, and succeeded in bringing many of his fellow-countrymen into the society, and it was discovered, to the horror and astonishment of the Government, and Mr. Kerr, the captain, that he had sworn in the whole troop of Newbliss Yeomanry Cavalry. One Thomas Bowes turned informer on him, and he escaped from the country, after an exciting chase through a bog, where he succeeded in throwing two officers who were sent to arrest him, into a bog hole.

Amongst the Monaghan Militia in the camp at Blaris Moor, the United Irish Society was discovered to have made great progress, and four of them were tried by Court-martial and sentenced to be shot, in the hope of either deterring the others, or of inducing the prisoners to inform. They were Daniel Gillen, Owen M'Kenna, Dheariugh; William M'Kenna, Dheariugh; and Peter M'Carren. Every effort was made to induce them to betray their comrades. Life and liberty were offered to them, but all to no purpose. The father of the two M'Kennas, who kept a public house at Dheariugh's Bridge, on the Blackwater, travelled from Trough to Belfast to witness the trial, and was asked to

advise his sons to inform and save their lives, to which request he replied, "I can bear to see my sons die, but not to live traitors and slaves in the land of their birth." The old man stood by like a hero, while his sons and their two comrades were executed on Blaris Moor. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, when speaking of the scene afterwards, stated, "Were I M'Kenna I would not barter the sterling virtue of his noble soul for all the tinselled honours which the highest hand of power could confer." All writers agree in saying that the execution of these men, without any resistance being made, was the greatest blow the national party received. It was the first offer of the army to the people. The people failed to embrace it, and the link which bound them together was broken. Had the leaders the courage then to strike, the army would have been united with the people, in a great struggle for their country's freedom. But this grand opportunity was lost, and the very men who were willing to fight for their country at Blaris Moor in 1797, fought fiercely and bitterly against it at Antrim, in 1798.

Martial Law was put in force in 1798 and a fierce and licentious soldiery were let loose on the country. Dacre Hamilton raided by day and night on the houses of the farmers. What the people suffered then will never be known, for no records were kept of the Court-martials. Many a poor traveller was cut down at night on the road by the cavalry. The lash tore through the flesh of many an honest Irishman, and many an innocent man was hanged by the supporters of law and order. All the while the people waited for the word; that word that never came. It is very hard to trace the subsequent career of any of those who suffered or escaped in those times. Mr. Michael Hughes returned to his home some years after his escape from prison, and after the rebellion. Mr. John Hamill, after many adventures, escaped from Derry to America, and no word ever came from him. Mr. Burke Rice and Mr. James Rice returned home also, and died in their native parish.

When looking up some old journals of the subsequent years, I find the following lines on the death of a relative of mine in 1809, who was leader of the United Irishmen in Carrickmacross :—

THE PATRIOT'S GRAVE.

On Doohatty's rude rock sat the genius of Erin,
When Sol rose to bid bleak October adieu,
His cheering beam yellow'd the osier and fern,
But scattered oak leaves hid the shamrock from view ;
Awhile she reclined on her arm in sorrow,
And many a tear to her harp string she gave ;
Then, raising her sad eyes endeavoured to borrow
One view of her patriot seeking a grave.

Bewailed as a child, as a friend, as a brother,
She saw his sad reliques slow moving along,
While the hirelings of sorrow felt real grief smother,
And changed into tears the wild notes of their song.
She summoned old Carolan, favourite bard,
Attentive you heard the commands which she gave,
Bear the Shamrock and laurel to yon lone church-yard,
And leave them and these lines on the Patriot's grave.

“Beneath this cold flag are placed the remains of Mr. Edward Carolan, jun., who, though born in Carrickmacross, lived and died a citizen of the world. He had, indeed, many virtues, yet he loved his country, and those who should be good judges declared it was a fault. Through life his friendship continued to all who loved Ireland, and his hatred to none (except those who betrayed her). The poor offered prayers for his soul, and the orphans were grieved for his loss. The religion he professed was edified by his last moments, in which he forgave the prosecution of these old men, who would never pardon one act of his youth. For him the proud ermine had then less terrors than the fleece of the lamb. But he lingered, and he died, and he wanted a grave,

and the bosom of that country which he loved received him."

The whole organisation in the county died out without another blow being struck for Ireland. It is related that some Monaghan men made their way to the County Down where they took part in the battles of Saintfield and Ballinahinch.

After the capture of the Hoche in Lough Swilly, Wolfe Tone and his French comrades were conveyed prisoners through the County Monaghan. They were quartered in Aughnacloy church about 15th October, 1798, and next day proceeded down an old road, through Grange, through Donagh, Faulkland, Knockbwee, Castleshane, Clontibret, Castleblayney, etc. It is hard to tell why some effort had not been made to rescue Tone. He must either have been unknown to the people, or because they were without leaders, all of whom were then in prison or in exile.

Some wise people now-a-days may talk lightly of the methods adopted for liberty by our ancestors then, but if such persons were in the same position as they were how would they act? While on the other hand, many point to '98 men and boast of their being ready to take the hillside. Of course these fireside hillsiders can talk very safely, as they are quite certain never to be on the hillside except in pursuit of their ordinary peaceful avocations.

It must be owned to the credit of our county that none of the leaders or men of position in the society turned traitors, and that the informers, who were few, were confined to the lowest grades; and that, though jury packing was as ripe then as it is now, the Government found difficulty to obtain convictions, and the large majority of political prisoners were acquitted at every assizes. Those who were convicted either by the ordinary law or by court-martial met their fate bravely and died real martyrs to their country's cause. Large numbers fled from the neighbourhood. Some escaped abroad, leaving behind them a ruined country and a

lost cause, many of whom died broken-hearted and never returned, and their bones lie in far-off lands, while

“The dust of some is Irish earth,
Among their own they rest,
And the same land that gave them birth
Has caught them to her breast;
And we will pray that from their clay
Full many a race may start,
Of true men, like you men,
To act as brave a part.”

CHAPTER III.

NOTES ON IRISH NAMES.

THE nomenclature of the people and localities in Ireland has undergone many changes. Partly from ignorance, and partly from want of national spirit, many names have become corrupted, and many Anglicised. The loss of our national language has been the worst enemy of our national names.

When Dr. O'Donovan made his famous tour through the country, correcting on his way the spelling of the names of most of the parishes and townlands, he wrote a number of important letters concerning each county. These notes remain in MS. in the Royal Irish Academy—those on County Derry being alone printed. They furnished to succeeding archæologists and historians some material to work up the interesting subject of the topography of our country. But in dealing with our surnames we have no guide, and must depend on such information as can be obtained from Irish-speaking people, and from a careful examination of our annals.

We should begin with a search for the names of the

different clansmen who inhabited Ireland in the early years of the English invasion, and from whom most of the present inhabitants are descended, and therefrom start with our researches.

It is surprising in how very few instances the original clan name has survived amongst the people, who most undoubtedly trace their origin to a particular clan. Within the Pale, where clansmen and Normans intermarried, it is not surprising to find whole districts without an Irish name. When, however, the same thing is met with in places where the English never got a permanent footing it is more to be wondered at. There are only two explanations: one, that the districts changed their populations; the other, that the populations changed their names. The latter will, in most cases, be found to be the true explanation. Within the Pale, though many Englishmen settled, still the betagh, or small farmer, from whom the middle classes were in time recruited, remained Celtic, while the settlers, who constituted the bulk of the middle class, were absorbed either into the upper or lower classes, or died out. There is nothing remarkable in the history of the rest of Ireland which would account for so great a change.

In Ulster the original clan name "M'Mahon" has suffered most, though the disappearance of the name is of more recent date than is the case with most of the other Ulster clansmen. It seems as if the struggle to keep the old name only led to a more complete change when the change did come. We find, in fact, that long after the settlement of their territory (West Oirgial, or Monaghan) by the strangers, nearly all the people were called by the old name. Now, however, a small proportion of the present inhabitants of the County Monaghan can establish their connection with the Clan M'Mahon.

In any district where many persons of the same name live, the inhabitants, for distinction sake, add an additional name to those already in existence. In Celtic Ireland, where the tendency is to adopt patronymics, most of

these distinctions are made by the addition of the paternal Christian name. When, therefore, three out of every five people in these districts bore the names of the old clans, every man when spoken of was called only by his own name and his father's Christian name, and while Irish was still spoken by the people, the prefix "Mac" or "O" was added. In penal times, and while the people were illiterate, the original name fell into disuse, and after a generation or two it was forgotten altogether.

In this way we have many of the M'Ardles (sons of Ardle, or Ardgal, M'Mahon, O'Neill, or O'Donnell, etc.); M'Ivers (sons of Eaver, Iver, or Hebher; M'Mahon, O'Reilly, O'Neill, O'Donovan, etc.); O'Connor (descendants of Connor M'Mahon, O'Neill, or O'Donnell, etc.); O'Brien (descendants of Bryan M'Mahon, Maguire, O'Neill or O'Donnell, etc.); M'Dermott (sons of Dermott M'Mahon); M'Shane (sons of Shan or John O'Neill); M'Donnell or O'Donnell (sons or descendants of Dhonal M'Mahon, O'Neill, or O'Reilly); M'Rory (sons of Rory O'Cahan, M'Kenna, etc.); O'Connolly (sons of Connell O'Hanlon, O'Neill, etc.); M'Toal (sons of Toal or Toghill M'Mahon); Ross (son of Ross M'Mahon, M'Donnell, etc.) Several M'Mahons changed their names to Hughes, Owens, and Donaghy, etc. The transition being M'Aodh M'Mahon, Anglicised into M'Hugh—the M'Mahon at the end and the "Mac" before Hughes being dropped; while M'Oine M'Mahon was Anglicised into M'Owen and M'Mahon, and "Mac" before Owen dropped; M'Donough M'Mahon was Anglicised into Donaghy. There is a tendency in Ulster to add "s" or "y" to names which was very manifest in these instances. I am far from saying that all those who bear these names are descendants of M'Mahons, O'Neills, O'Donnells, or other leading Ulster septs, for there were clans bearing some of these names in Monaghan and the north, *e.g.*—M'Ardle, O'Connolly, and M'Donnell, and there were many patriotic Irishmen of some of these names from other parts of Ireland, who came to Ulster for protec-

tion during troubled times, when this district was comparatively free, while a few others may have settled more recently, but these latter are the exception.

According to a recent Government return, it appears that of the births registered in the Co. Monaghan in 1890, represent the following names and numbers: Duffy, 38; Connolly, 36; M'Mahon, 33; M'Kenna, 32; Hughes, 25; Murphy, 24; M'Cabe, 22; Martin, 19; Smith, 19; Kelly, 18; Quinn, 18; Maguire, 17; Murray, 17; Woods, 14.

Next to the patronymic we find used a matronymic, by which the mother's maiden name was used, *e.g.*—M'Bride, O'Dhowna. Again we find some distinction from the appearance, such as Roe or M'Enroe (Ruadh—red), M'Colreavey (Colreavey—gray), etc.; and some from the occupation, Smythe (from Gowan, a smith), and Ward (from M'Bard, or M'Ward, the Bard), etc.

In the barony of Trough, Co. Monaghan, we have seen the same thing happen to the M'Kennas, M'Elmeels, and O'Treanors, but luckily for the prevalence of these names, the people became educated before they quite forgot the older name, and the addition only remained a distinctive mark, and changed with each generation according to the Christian name of the bearer's father. In a few instances in Trough the original names appear to have been lost.

Some names in their Anglicised form bear strong resemblance to Scottish names, similarly Anglicised; for Scotland suffers from North-Britonism, as Ireland does from West-Britonism. As examples of these we have M'Callum, Scottish, and M'Cumbhel (M'Cowal), Irish, Anglicised into Campbell; M'Kay, Scottish, and M'Coey, Irish, Anglicised into Mackey; M'Murray, Scottish, and O'Muireadhaigh (O'Murray), Irish, Anglicised into Murray. The most disastrous change and most degrading to ourselves, and to our country, is the Anglicising of our surnames. Centuries ago the English "proclaimed" by law our Irish names, and our fathers then held fast to the old Celtic forms, but to their sons'

disgrace, be it said, we are losing fast the national distinction indicated by the ancient surnames bequeathed to us.

The M'Mahons, who crossed the Pale, and settled in Louth and Meath, became Matthews, Mahon being supposed to be the Irish of Matthew. Of the other changes some merely dropped the "Mac" or "O" which was prefixed to every Irish name, such as Connolly, Conlan, Donnelly, Marron, Mullan, Mulligan, Kelly, Gormly, Corley, Brady, Boyle, Brien, Hanlon, and Dermott.

Some have made a change which is supposed to be a translation of the surname, but which in most cases is nothing of the kind, but merely some fanciful change, *e.g.* :—

M'Rory to Rogers	M'Gowan to Smith
M'Gilly to Cox	M'Girr to Short
M'Ashanagh to Fox	M'Quillan to Holly
M'Atilla to Flood	O'Cunneen to Rabitt
M'Aree to King	M'Quirk to Oats
M'Geehan to Wynne	M'Shane to Johnson
O'Banane to White	M'Loone to Monday
M'Cullogh to Boar	M'Eneaney to Bird
M'Crann to Wrenn	M'Brenaghy to Judge
M'Adarragh to Oaks	M'Corrig to Rocks
M'Glashan to Green	M'Uisk to Watters
M'Kiltogh to Small	M'Alivery to Winter
M'Corra to Weir	O'Duffy to Black
M'Lave to Hand	M'Scollogh to Farmer
M'Bannan to White	

Some have changed from an Irish name to another more easily pronounced by English-speaking people, *e.g.* —Soraghan to Sullivan; M'Sweeney and Sweeny, to M'Aweeny and Weeny; Muckle-breed to M'Bride; M'Cadden or Muckeedan to Cadden; M'Daide to M'Devitt or Davitt; Cunnier to Connor; Bryan to Crossan; O'Hara to O'Harran; M'Gill-Meehul to M'Elmeel, and M'Cormilla to Gormly. But by far the

greater number have been Anglicised without any apparent reason for the change. Among these we find:—

M'Alinden to Lundy or Linden	M'Rostig to Roach
M'Killian to M'Allen, Allison, etc.	O'Horrican to Summers
M'Allister to M'Lester, Allister, and Lister	M'Evelly to Stanton
M'Gill-Bride to M'Bride and Brides	O'Dea to Goodwin or Godkin
M'Caffery to Beatty	O'Driscoll to Hyde
M'Carrell to Mackarell	O'Carolan to Cavlin and Carleton
M'Carthy to Fortune	M'Brenagh to Walsh
M'Cawell or } to Campbell	O'Foody or O'Gastha to Swift or Speed
M'Cool } to Campbell	M'Cavish, M'Tavish to Thompson
M'Cavill to M'Caulfield, Caulfield, and Campbell	O'Toghill to Toal
M'Cumeskey to Comerford	M'Naboe to Victory
M'Cousnamha to Ford	M'Toorish to Walters
M'Cusker to Cosgrove	O'Canavan to Whitehead
M'Dade to Davis or Davidson	O'Skinnader to Kennedy
M'Donnell to Daniel	M'Cenebhan } to Whitehead or }
M'Gill-Downey to Downey	M'Canavan }
M'Ginnity to Gaynor	O'Helan to Whelan
M'Givern to Bickerstaff and Montgomery	M'Lenaghan to Lennard
M'Glew to M'Cloud	M'Manus to Mayne or Mains
M'Goldrick to Goodwin, Golden, or Golding	M'Quaid to Wade
M'Guigan to Pidgeon	M'Sharry to Foley or Sherry
M'Rory to Rogers	M'Taghlin to Heuston
M'Hugh to Hewson	M'Tague to Montague
M'Keown to Caulfield or Johnston	O'Foohey to Rush
O'Guilshenagh to Nugent and Gilson	O'Malmona to Moss
O'Gill Hoogley to Gollogly and Ingolsby	O'Muldowna } to Downey or }
	M'Gill Downa } Dawney
	O'Molloy to Slowey or Sloy
	O'Muracha to Murphy
	O'Neill to Nelson
	O'Hay to Hayes
	O'Cussave to Patterson
	M'Polin to Poland

M'Gilfoil to Powell	O'Dreenan }	
O'Shearhoon to Penders or	M'Skean }	to Thornton
Prendergast		
M'Quillan to Holly or	M'Moghan to Vaughan	
Goodwin	M'Avinchy to Vincent	
O'Creagh and }	O'Mournane to Warren	
O'Raw }	M'Gilligan to White	
	Quilkan to Wilkinson	
M'Gronan }	M'Ilhone to Wood	
O'Ronaghan }	O'Parrican or }	to Fitz-
M'Giltinane }	MacGillPatrick }	patrick
O'Shanaghan }	M'Guagey to Hackett	
M'Astoker to Stafford	M'Bachal to Crozier	
O'Summachan to Summerly	M'Enery to Henry	
and Summers	Trin Lavery to Armstrong	
O'Claveen to Swords	M'Beggan to Little	
O'Gormly to Grimes and	O'Muldoon to M'Dowell	
Graham	M'Quillan to Goodwin and	
	M'Williams	

Within the Pale, and in parts of Munster, many of the betaghs took up the name of the first English lords, *e.g.*, Fitzgeralds, Barrys, etc. Thoughts such as these naturally suggest the possibility of the restoration of our national nomenclature. Of course there are many obstacles—first, a great many people who now bear names which were Anglicised by their ancestors, and who would wish to have their old names restored, find themselves so much tied down to their English forms, in the number and variety of important places in which they have them written, that it is almost hopeless to think of trying. The best means to adopt is for the rising generation to add the Irish form between the Christian and surnames, *e.g.*, two brothers, Patrick Smyth and John Smyth, might write their names Patrick M'Gowan Smith and John M'Gowan Smith; Bernard Rogers and James Rogers might write Bernard M'Rory Rogers and James M'Rory Rogers. By this means the English form might perhaps be dropped as the next generation grew to manhood. The registration of a marriage or a birth with both names would enable

a name to be traced. The second great obstacle is ignorance, or rather, that sort of ignorance which is described by a "little learning," and which induces its victims to Anglicise their names because they think the Irish form is not respectable. To such people as these real national education has come too late, and the only hope in their cases is that the next generation may be *better* educated. The last and greatest obstacle is snobbery. This vice is rapidly decaying, but while it flourished it degraded our country more than Coercion Acts. The Irish snobs, a rapidly diminishing class, were never contented unless when imitating some *Bodagh* amongst the local landocracy, and never happy unless in the company of planters or the descendants of English settlers. Many a good old name and many an historic record was sacrificed to these contemptible pretensions. Honest Bryan M'Gowan's son should become Mr. Bernardo Smythe; Fardoraugha M'Coey becomes Ferdinand Mackay; Mogue M'Areé becomes Moses King; while Bridget or Bridheen Murphy becomes Bedelia Morphy, and Sheelagh O'Lavery becomes Betty Armstrong.

The only consolation we have is that Irish folks with these absurd names seldom make their mark or reach any distinction in the world. In vain do we scan the lists of eminent Irishmen or Irishwomen for Alfred, Ernest, Albert, Frederick, Alfonso, and Amelia, Maud, Victoria, etc. The explanation is simple enough. The parents who are capable of rendering their children ridiculous by having them christened by new-fangled names have very little of the stuff that men and women are made of to transmit to their children, while at the same time they are incapable of bringing them up to fight their way in the nineteenth century.

At the risk of departing a little out of my course I shall wind up this paper with the changes in Irish Christian names to which English equivalents have been given :—

Bryan	{	to Bernard	Shane	to John					
and		or	Aimon	{	to Edward				
Brandubh	{	Bernardo	or		and				
Concobhar		to Connor	Eamon	{	Edmond				
Torlough	to Terence	Magsheesh,	{		to Moses				
Dermot,	{	to Jeremiah		Mogue					
Diarmid,									
and									
Darby									
Shamus	to James	Phelim	to	{	Felix				
Eoin	{	Owen	and	{	and				
						and			
						Eugene			
Aodh	to Hugh	Art	to Arthur						
Conn	to Constantine	Niall	to	{	Cornelius				
Eachy	to Archy	Rory	to	{	Neal				
Fardorough	{					Ferdinand	or		
to		or	Roderick						
Eaver	{	Frederick	Roger	Davoc	to David				
to Heber	Eaver	to Heber	{	Bridget					
Cathal	{	to Charles			Brideen	to	and		
Cathaoir									
Cahal, or									
Cormac			Daunagh	to	Bedelia				
Sheelagh	to	{	Shibby	{	Dympna				
						Betty	Susan		
								or	or
								Elizabeth	Johanna
Teigue or	{	to Timothy	Feber	to Phœbe					
Tady			Oonagh	{	to Winnefred				
Fionnghula	to Penelope	or	Anna						
Muirteach	to Mortimer	Una	or						
Ardle	to Arnold	{	Anne						
Dhonal,	{			to Ellen					
Domhnall		or	or						
Donough	to Denis	Eileen	{	Eleanor					
		Maev	to Matilda						

The derivations of some of the old Irish Christian names are very interesting. *Aodh* (pronounced *Ee*), signifies fire; *Aongus* (pronounced *Angus*), derived from *Aon*, excellent, and *gus*, strength; *Ardgal* (pronounced *Ardle*), from *ard*, exalted, and *gal*, valour;

Art, from *Art*, noble ; *Bryan*, from *Bri*, strength, and *an*, very great ; *Brandubh* signifies black raven ; *Cathal*, from *Cath*, a battle, and *all*, great ; *Cathaoir*, from *Cath*, a battle, and *or*, slaughter ; *Cormac* signifies son of the chariot, a charioteer, from *Corb*, a chariot, and *Mac*, a son ; *Conn*, from *Cu* (genitive *con*), a hound ; *Conall* signifies friendship ; *Conchobhar* (*Concoo-var*), from *Con*, a warrior, and *Cobhair*, aid ; *Domioch* (*Donough*), *Donn*, brown ; *Cu*, a hound ; *Dairmaid*, or *Dermott*, from *Diel*, a god ; *Armaid*, of arms ; *Eochiaidh*, *Eochy*, from *Each* or *Eoch*, a steed ; *Eogan* (*Eoin*) signifies a youthful warrior ; *Feidhlim* (*Phelim*) signifies great hospitality or great goodness ; *Muircheartach* (*Murthagh*), from *Muir*, the sea, and *Eadhach*, a protector, *e. g.*, an admiral ; *Niall*, from *Niadh*, a champion or mailed knight, and *all*, noble.

In female names we find *Bebinn*, from *Be*, a woman, and *Binn*, melodious ; *Barrdubh*, from *Barr*, the hair, and *Dubh* (*duv*), black ; *Feithfailge*, a honey-suckle of ringlets ; *Fionnghuala*, from *Fionn*, white, and *Guala*, shoulders ; *Bredean*, a brilliant dart ; and *Eileen*, apple mouthed.

There are some who think that nationality consists in hatred of our country's enemies, while others consider they have discharged their duty to their native land by toasting the prosperity of Ireland and hurrahing for the green flag. However, we must remember that for centuries our enemies have used every effort to destroy Ireland's national characteristics. In modern times the so-called National system of education, which destroyed our native language, has, under cover of the lessons which its earlier school books contained, sapped at the root of everything Irish.

There is much more to be done for Ireland after the restoration of our native Legislature than mere material advancement. There is hardly a national characteristic which has not been attacked in some way. The old Irish dress was suppressed by law centuries ago ; so also was the mode of wearing our beards and hair. Our

native music first, and afterwards our national songs, all suffered. Our national language is melting away, and with it are going our old songs, stories, and folklore, to be replaced by English music hall ditties, trashy novels, and "Ally Sloper" literature.

Before it is too late let us make an effort to retain or revive our Irish names—some of the very few remnants left to Irishmen of older Ireland. Irishmen, the world over, should get together every scrap of evidence that might throw light on their ancient story, in order that we who are the heirs of that story may "recast for the future the greatness of the past."

CHAPTER IV.

LOCAL GEOGRAPHY AND TOPOGRAPHY.

OUR daily avocations often bring us through adjoining townlands and parishes, the names of which are completely unintelligible to most of us, and over roads and lanes, about the origin of which we know little or nothing. Now our object in this paper is to show that there is a good deal of interesting local history to be obtained from a knowledge of the meaning of these names; while at the same time, giving some curious information about the origin of the roads and lanes of our native parish; and though the subjects are not so interesting as those treated in former papers, still there are many things to interest us in glancing over the map of our native parish.

In previous Chapters I have treated of the names of our town and county, and made occasional allusion to old roads; in this I will treat of the topography of our neighbouring townlands and parishes, and examine more minutely into our highways and byways.

First let us take the Ballyboes or townlands around

our town. Mullaghmonaghan either means Monaghan's hill, or The Hill of "Muineachan." Rooskey, which means a marsh or morass, has probably lost some other syllables which would make the name more intelligible. Tir-keenán, Keenan's land; who this Keenan was or when he lived is a complete mystery to us. Aghananimy, the Field of the Butter, from *Ádadh*, a field, and *ime*, butter. Annahagh, the kiln of the marsh, from *Annagh*, a marsh, and *hagh*, a kiln. Bellanagall, the mouth of the ford of the strangers, *Belatha*, the mouth of the ford, and *n-gall*, the foreigners. Carrickanoran, the rock of the cold spring, from *Carraic*, a rock, *Fuarain*, cold spring. Castleshane, John's Castle. Coolmain, Middle Corner, *Cool*, a corner, and *mèadain*, middle. Coolshannagh, the fox cover, *seañadh*, foxes. Corlat, the round hill of the monument, *Cor*, a hill, and *Leadh*, a monument. Cornacassagh, the round hill of the keshes or little bridges; Corness, the round hill of the cataract; Cornamunady, the round hill of the long shrubbery; Drumbear, the ridge of the shaving; Drumhirk, the ridge of the boar, *Torc*, a bore; Dunsinair, Sinar's earthen fort; Feragh, grassy; Gallanagh, white marsh; Killygowan, the smith's wood; Killyvane, the white church or woods; Kilnacloy, the wood of the stone, or the stone church; Knocknaturley, the hill of the dried-up lough (*i.e.*, the Winter lough).

Latlurcan, Lorcan's or Laurence's Monument.

Legnacreeve, the Hollow of the Bush. In a hollow in an old bush in this townland was an altar on which Mass used to be celebrated during the penal times. In 1705 the parish priest, Rev. James Duffy, resided there. He was ordained by Dr. Tyrrell, Bishop of Clogher, in the reign of King James II. Liseraw, the fort of the fort; Mullaghadun, the hill of the fort; Dun, a fortified fort, or fortified kingly residence; Mullaghmat, the withered summit; Rakeeragh, the fort of the sheep; Ramanny, the fort of the monks; Rackwallace, the Rath or fort of the sons of Malus; Sheetrim, fairy hill; Tandragee, the hill of the winds; Ban and Brack, white and

spotted are added to distinguish the two townlands of that name. Tamlat, a plague burial ground; Tiravray, the land of judgment; Tully, a hill; Tullyard, the high hill; Tullyhirm, the dry hill; and Tullyleer, Lir's hill; Uribalkirk, the hen's tail; Scarnageeragh, the shallow ford of the sheep; Glasslough, the Green Lake; Ballybay, the ford mouth of the birch. The names of some of these places are explained by the appearance of the land; others are derived from lakes, and marshes, and woods, drained, reclaimed, or cut down centuries ago, while others take their names from long-forgotten people and stories.

In the names of the parishes, there is much more to guide us. Tydavnet, Teigh-Damnad—St. Dymrna's House, called in Irish, Downa, Downey, Davna, and Davnet. She was abbess of an old monastery, which she founded near the old graveyard of Tydavnet, where a little church was built and dedicated to her. She had to fly from the rage of her infidel and incestuous father, who pursued her through Cavan, Leitrim, and Mayo to the sea, over which she fled to Gheel, in Belgium, where she founded another convent, but was discovered and martyred by her father. The late Most Rev. Dr. Donnelly got her appointed Patroness of this diocese by the present Pope. There is a statue to her outside the south Transept of St. Macartan's Cathedral, Monaghan, and a stained glass window commemorating events in her life, in St. Benedict Joseph Labre's Chapel, in the Cathedral, erected by the Very Rev. Canon O'Connor. Her Shrine at Gheel is much venerated, and visited by those suffering from mental diseases. Her Crozier or Bachall is preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. It was called the Bahall Dhownagh, and was used for swearing people on when disputes arose in commercial transactions.

Errigle Trough—Trough means a cantred or district, and Errigle, a small church. St. Mallin was the founder.

Donagh—The full name is Domnach-Maighe-da-

Chlaione, the church of the plain of the two slopes. This church was founded by St. Patrick himself. Almost every place St. Patrick founded a church has Domnach (Donagh), which means Sunday, connected with its name, because St. Patrick founded these churches on the Sabbath.

Tyhallen, Teach-Talain, St. Killen's House—St. Killen was consecrated Bishop, and placed in Tyhallen by St. Patrick.

Kilmore or Kilmoreacdhan, Cil-mor-Adhain—The church of St. Aedhan Mac Angus, who died in the year 534.

Drumsnatt, Druain—Snechtha, the hill of the snow. The people of this district wanted a church, and they went to St. Teirnagh (Tierney) to Clones, to consult him as to the site. He told them to return, and pray that God would show them a place to build a church, at the same time ordaining St. Molua Mac Oche (M'Geough) their priest. After having prayed for some days, they discovered, on arising one morning, that the top of Drumsnatt was covered with snow, though all the surrounding fields were green, the time being midsummer. Now they took this so unusual occurrence as a sign from heaven, and forthwith proceeded, under St. Molua's directions, to build their church on the spot.*

It is a remarkable fact that this is the only ancient graveyard in this neighbourhood on which the Protestants did not lay hold. Though the old church has long since disappeared—not a stone upon a stone of it has been left—still the graveyard has always remained in the possession of the Catholic people of Drumsnatt and the surrounding parishes.

Tullycorbet, Tulach-Carpaith—The hill of the chariot, so called from St. Patrick's chariot having broken down here.

* An attempt was made a few years ago to assert some private ownership in the graveyard of Drumsnatt, but it was successfully resisted by Rev. Thomas Duffy, then C.C. of the parish. Both he and the writer have a very special interest in the incident.

Clones, Cluain-Eois, Eos's meadow.—Eos was a pagan chief. Here St. Tighernach founded the great abbey of Ss. Peter and Paul, and in it he died on 4th April, 548. In this abbey was preserved the great relic known as "the Donagh," Domnach-Airgid, a case of precious metals which contained, in addition to many relics, a Latin copy of the Gospels in Irish characters, which once belonged to St. Patrick himself. According to some authorities, St. Patrick brought this book from the Pope, and presented it to St. Macartan on his consecration to the See of Clogher; while, according to other authorities, it was dictated by St. Patrick to St. Macartan, in whose handwriting the book is said to be. It is probable, if the front page could be found, it would contain St. Patrick's imprimatur in his own handwriting.

The Abbey of Clones flourished until its lands, property, and buildings were stolen by the soldiers and favourites of Queen Elizabeth.

Clontibret, Cluain-Tobraid.—The meadow of the spring. The church and parish were founded by St. Macolmag or Colman.

The next branch of this subject takes me to the roads leading to and from our native town. Nothing is so hard as to form an accurate idea of the map of this district at any fixed date, for the roads passing through our county were being constantly altered, changed, widened, narrowed, or closed, so as to render it almost hopeless to follow the course of any of the older roads. The first road we find any definite trace of, was the old military road from Derry to Dublin. There is reason to believe it was made about the time of Elizabeth on the site of an older trade road from Tara to Derry-Columbkil. This old road entered the county over a ford of the Blackwater—called in olden times the Avonmore Great River, because it was the largest river in the district through which it passed—near Aughnacloy between Tully and Aughaderry, where the river is still fordable, passed close to where the "old road" now runs through Moy and Mullnacross, until it reached Errigle old

church ; it continued on to Monaghan. The present old road often runs in the exact place, but in most places it has been slightly diverted to avoid hills, etc. However, it is almost identical with the road past Lamb's lake through Coolshannagh, past the Barrack into the town. It left the town at James Martin's entry, over the Pound Hill, Gallows Hill, through Tirkeenan, to the north of Aughaninimy Lough, past the old parish chapel, through Ballynagaul, Drumhirk, Corness (where it is now crossed by the Castleblayney road), and passed over Carrick-anoran hill, into Tullycorbet. It is cut again by the broad road (to Ballybay), passes near Tullycorbet church, over the hills, until it descends from Drumroosk into the parish of Clontibret. It is crossed by the Great Northern Railway half-way between Castleblayney and Ballybay, and near the same place by the broad road and the old road between the same two towns. It runs close to the east wall of All Saints' Church, and proceeds straight southward near Lough Eagish into Carrickmacross.

When the coaches began to run, it was found that these old roads were most inconvenient, both as to the hills and the narrowness, and alterations were made in many roads, and new pieces were added here and there. About the middle of the last century the mail coach from Dublin to Derry was changed to the road which ran from Castleblayney to Aughnacloy, almost over the same road that runs now from Blayney to Castleshane, through the main street of the old town of Castleshane, which ran from where the castle now stands, down to where the roads from Blayney and Rackwallace now meet for Monaghan, then to the right of the present road, near Knockbwee fair green, between Carn and Liscarney, passed the "Hand and Pen" over the Blackwater at Faulkland, over the hill behind Faulkland ; is crossed by the Great Northern Railway near Billis National School, through the east side of Donagh, through Grange, until it crossed the Blackwater at Mullnahornbridge, between Mullinure (Grange) and Tully. The people of

Monaghan who wanted to go to Dublin had to meet the coach at Castleshane. The road to Castleshane ran through Latlurcan, behind Corlat, to the north of the present road, where it is still used as a lane, until it entered the street of Castleshane. Thus the old town of Castleshane became one of considerable importance.

The people of Monaghan got a coach for themselves. It passed through Ballybay, passed Te Tappa Mills, through Dunraymond until it met the old Co. Cavan road, passed Liseraw, Knockaturley, Uriblekirk, Shee-trim, through Drumbear, over Far-Meehul bridge, which is still to be seen near the writer's residence, over Tully hill, and into the town between the Convent and the Lake. A good deal of business was done between Aughnacloy and Monaghan; so the old road was improved and altered in several places, and Moy bridge built. It was about that time the traffic was turned into the village of Scarnageeragh, now Emyvale. The only road to the parish of Tydavnet passed from the town close to where it is now, until it leaves it near the Manse along the lane at the foot of Mrs. Deighan's fields, through Cornacassa demesne. There is a little bridge still standing some distance to the north of the County road between Gallinagh and Lisbristlen. There was no road past the end of High Street, but a footpath from Milltown, which was then only a small corn mill, and a few houses approached from the town from the end of Glasslough Street. The road to Clones went along the Pound, through Mullamatt, and over the hills close to the present road; parts of it are identical near Smithboro'; the road to Glasslough began at Ballyalbany, where it turned to the east off the Aughnacloy road, and went by the back of St. Macartan's Seminary. This road still exists and is a good road the whole way to Glasslough at present. The way to Armagh was an old road through Knockbwee to Middletown; it left Monaghan to the east from the Pound Hill down Annahagh Lane, and along what is still called the old Armagh road.

Thus were the roads when the Irish Parliament in 1777 ordered a survey, and from the completion of that survey up to within a few years of the Union, improvements were being made year by year, which rendered the transit of the mail coach easier. Amongst the principal changes was the widening of the old Armagh road, and its being brought into the town where it now runs; alterations of the Aughnacloy road, and the road between Castleblayney and Castleshane. For a few years before the Union the great scheme for making new roads was suspended; but in 1806, by order of the Postmaster-General, the schemes were put to work. The first road started was to Clones, to accommodate the mail coach which ran from Enniskillen to Belfast. Portions were begun through Mullaghadun, Mullacroghery, Knockconean, and Tullygraham. In 1813-14 it was extended to Tullybryan and Brandrum. In 1822 the part from Brandrum to Skeagh was completed, and in 1825 it was brought through Carrowbarrow, whence the old road had been so much improved some years before as not to require a new one. The next road made was the new road to Aughnacloy in 1806. It was made through Dernagrew, Coolkill, Mullabrack, Legacurry, and Drumcam, in 1811; through Coolshannagh in towards the town, then through Mullmurphy, Killnadreen, Dernagrew, Coolkill, Tirnaneil, Enagh, and Mullabrack, forty-four feet wide. In 1811 an old road was widened, and new portions of the road made from Scarnageeragh to Aughnacloy, and in 1812 it was brought to Dheariugh's bridge. In 1805 a new road was begun to Glasslough by widening an old lane through Drumrutagh and Tullyhirm. It was continued in 1809 near Scroggy's Bridge. Some time between 1811 and 1820 the road was joined to the Aughnacloy road where it joins it now. In 1820-21 it was extended to the Silver Stream, through Cavanreagh, Croghey, Corbeg, Cavally, and Tyravera; but it was not until 1834 that it was fully finished into Glasslough.

The new road to Armagh and Middletown began in

1809 by branching off the old road at Cavanreagh, through Tullynure, Tullylush and Tehallan Glebe. It was continued in 1815 through Kildoagh, Killaneil, Leitrim, Killeiff and Tamlat. Soon after it was joined to the new Glasslough road, and got its finishing touch in 1825. In 1810, when a good portion of the new Aughnacloy road had been made, it was thought advisable to make a good coach road from Monaghan to Castleblayney, and to transfer the Dublin and Derry mail to it, and the broad road was begun through Killyvane, Tamlat, Rakeeragh, Dunaldron, Carrickanoran, Beagh, Crosses, Greaghglass, Ardaghy, Lisleitrim, Rackwallace, etc. In 1812 the road was made up the Glen and along from the Mall. In 1813 it was altered to its present position in Tamlat, Dunaldron, Carrickanoran and Greaghglass; and in 1814 it was altered to its present position in Ardaghy, Killyvane, Lisleitrim, etc. In 1813 the road over the hill was begun through Mullaghadun; and in 1813 went through Mullaghmore Crosses and Drumghost, past Raconnell until it came in on the old Tydavnet road. In 1814 the present Newbliss road was made through Tullygraham, Gortakeehan, Killycushil to back gate of the park, then along the old road to Killeevan, over an old bridge through Clonavarn, Drumaclan, Carnlough, Crumlin, etc. In 1823 the road to Ballybay was made from the new Castleblayney road through Corvoy, Cordoolough, Leggacurry, Mullan, Drummar and Corfad; and in 1824 through Drumcar and Braddocks. All these roads brought a considerable traffic through Monaghan, and in 1826 it was found that Glasslough Street was then too narrow, so a Methodist preaching house and an old school were knocked down in Mill Street, between Mr. M'Gurk's corner and Mr. Hanna's corner, and the road made which is now called North Street. It joined the public walks behind where the Railway Station now is, but never was continued. The coach ran only for a short time this way. The old houses which partially blocked Glasslough Street have long since gone. In 1823 the road was made to Rosslea

by connecting the Clones road with another road at Annyerley. In 1827 the present road was made to Castleshane through Killagneathy, Ballinagall, Moyles, Listrahegney, etc., until it entered the street of the old town of Castleshane. In 1828 the road to Scotstown was improved, and in 1832, '34, and '35 it was further improved, and the road to Enniskillen was considerably improved, and a great deal of a new road added through the long hollow. In 1830—'32 the Clogher road was made. The last of these leading roads finished was to Keady, which began in 1832, and was not concluded until 1838.

The Ulster Canal came in 1832.

These roads brought a considerable amount of business, and some wealth and prosperity to Monaghan. But in the Fifties the railway came, and it has been drawing off all our industries, prosperity, wealth, and even our very people to such an extent as to make a true Irishman sigh for the days of the old slow coach.

CHAPTER V.

THE "UNION" IN MONAGHAN.

AFTER the failure of the United Irishmen in '98, the spirit of Nationality seems to have slept in our country, and during this sleep the Agitation for the Union began. Several addresses were issued in our county, pointing out the advantages of a Union with England. Every blandishment that could be thought of was urged on every class, in every county in Ireland, and Monaghan among the rest. But to the credit of our Protestant fellow-countrymen they almost unanimously went on the side of Ireland against the Union. The borough of Monaghan had already been sold by General Cunning-

ham to Castlereagh for the title of Rossmore, and its two members, Westenra and Fortescue, voted away their country's freedom amid the most contemptible gang that ever disgraced a nation. In every division these hireling traitors walked at the tail of Castlereagh. As it was known their votes had already been bought and paid for, no notice was taken of them either in or out of the county. But as to the county members, Charles P. Leslie and Richard Dawson, much interest was attached. They were both independent gentlemen, and faithfully represented their constituents. Mr. Leslie, like many of his family, was a silent member, but Mr. Dawson was witty and eloquent, and both in Parliament and out of it, spoke out like a true Irishman against the Union. In January 1799 several debates took place on the Union in the Irish House of Commons; two divisions on 22nd and 24th of that month were gone through, in both of which the Government of Castlereagh was defeated, and in both divisions the members for the County of Monaghan voted against Castlereagh. A great meeting of the freeholders, all Protestant, of the Co. Monaghan, called and presided over by the High Sheriff, Mr. Hawkshaw, was held in Monaghan, on Monday, 28th January. Several hundreds of freeholders from all parts of the county attended, and an address to the two county members, thanking them for defending the liberty and legislative independence of the country in the House of Commons was carried amid great enthusiasm, with but thirty-three dissentients.

The real leaders of the Irish Catholics had been all "banished or slain" in 1798, though a pair of Dublin Catholics, named Bellew and Lynch, took upon themselves the leadership of their co-Religionists, and negotiated with Castlereagh for the Union. But some Catholics in Dublin had the courage to hold a meeting, and voice the sentiments of their Catholic fellow-countrymen. At this meeting, an almost unknown young man made a rather remarkable speech, condemnatory of the proposed Union. This young man was afterwards des-

tined to lead the Irish race, and to leave marks on the character of his country which long years and the march of learning have failed to eradicate, and to write indelibly on the pages of Irish history his name—Daniel O'Connell.

The Catholics of Monaghan had no leader; the failure of '98 had crushed the manhood out of the whole generation. We were not then, nor have we since, been cursed with a 'Cawtholic' snobocracy, to form a body sufficiently strong to have any sort of representative voice either for or against the Union. So the voice of the Catholics of Monaghan for or against the Union was not heard.

The Protestant voters of Monaghan remained true to Ireland, as did also our county members. During one of the debates on the Union, the following interesting speech was made by Mr. Dawson.

It was delivered on a motion made by Lord Corry against the Union, and the strong points in it were made in defence of the Right Hon. John Foster, the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, who fought hard against the Union. The "Noble Lord" referred to is Castlereagh.

"Sir—I rise for the purpose of defending the country gentlemen of Ireland. I cannot sit quietly in my seat and hear that body of men, of whom I am proud to call myself one, treated with such illiberality and contempt! Out of the House, or in the House, or somewhere or other—I dreamt in my sleep, or, possibly, I fancied in my cups—but sure I am, Mr. Speaker, that body of men who support the country and who support the throne, called a cabal, a faction, and charged with entertaining French principles! Sure I am, that I have heard it said that they have enlisted themselves under leaders they cannot raise to their level, though they may sink to theirs. Such an assertion, Sir, is illiberal, unfounded, and untrue, and it comes doubly ungracious, proceeding from the quarter which it does. It should be recollected that

last year, when domestic rebellion and foreign invasion threatened the existence of the country and the constitution, we, the country gentlemen, rallied round the Government—round the noble lord, himself—and that we saved the State. What have we done, Sir, when the State has been a second time endangered, by worse than foreign invasion, or open and armed rebellion—by the folly, wickedness, and treachery of the British Minister? What did we then, Sir? We, a second time, saved the State—we rallied around the lawful and established Government of the country—we rallied to some purpose—we rallied with effect—we rallied, Sir, and brought back to Parliament the confidence of the people—(a loud cry of Hear! hear! which lasted a considerable time). We have been loaded with the *pretty, polite, well-bred,* and *temperate* epithets of *dupes* and *gulls*, and that we are connected with men who want to make instruments of us—we defy the voice of such opprobrium and obloquy—let it return from whence it came, and rest there—it attaches not to us: and, thank Heaven, the noble lord cannot accuse us of being connected with him, or of being his instruments! Sir, I will, regardless of peevish and illiberal accusation, support the motion before the House: a motion which is calculated to heal the bleeding wounds inflicted on this country by the administration of the noble lord, and that of his master, Mr. Pitt. I say, Sir, I will support it if for no other reason than to give you an opportunity of vindicating yourself from the illiberal and insulting attacks made on you in the British Commons—(an enthusiastic cry of Hear! hear! which even many voices at the Treasury side involuntarily joined). And, Sir, this motion could not decently be resisted if orders had been received here from the other side of the water to muzzle you—(a long laugh)—that you may be pelted with impunity by the English Minister and his myrmidons like a cock on a Shrove Tuesday—(another loud laugh). But, Sir, I'll back with my life the Irish blood—the Union *cow-feather* is up—the Minister is already becoming a blinker—and

I have no doubt we shall soon make him wheel out of the ring."

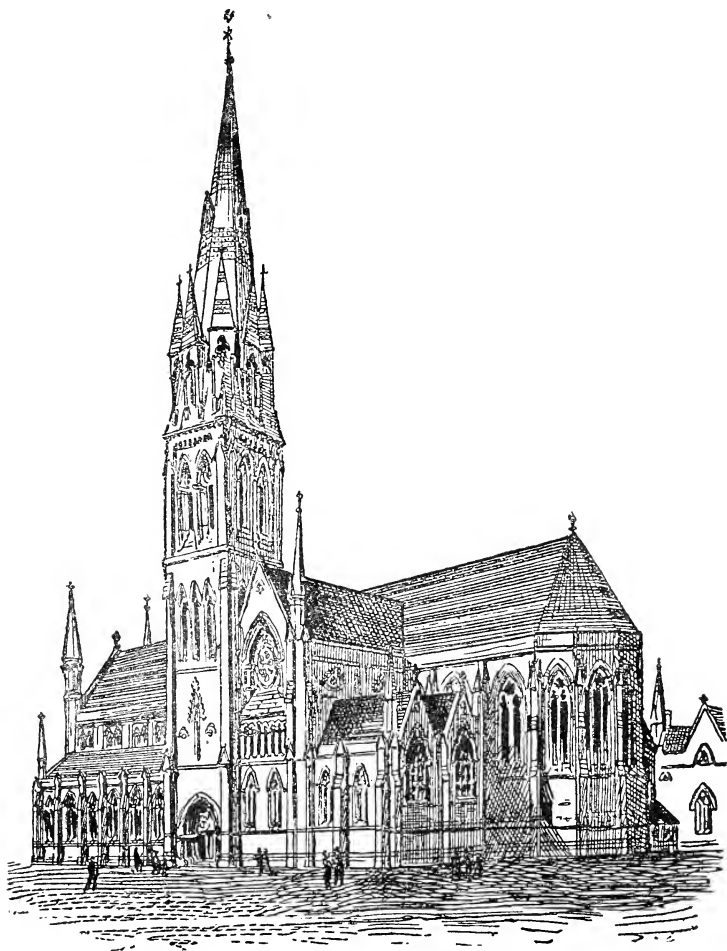
Towards the close of the speech, the House was in such a roar of laughter, that it was impossible to collect what was said with such precision as to do it sufficient justice.

The Union was carried by corruption and fraud. All the evil prophecies then made have been more than fulfilled, our country has decayed slowly but surely. Wealth and industry have gone long ago, population is rapidly following.

The vicissitudes of places of worship in Monaghan are as interesting as any other branch of our history. For some time after the Penal Laws had been relaxed sufficiently to enable the Catholics to assemble for worship, they continued to use the Corby Rock Glen for hearing Mass; then they had a Baughog, or roofed Altar erected at the back of some 'Lone' bushes, a little further south, in the townland of Tamlat—the county road to Castleblayney now covers the exact spot. A few years after they built their first modest thatched chapel in Drumhirk. About 1780, the towns-people built a chapel at the back of the house, now occupied by James M'Fadden, Junior; and about 1790 the chapel in Drumhirk was destroyed, and the portion of the old Catholic Parish Church nearest the road was built. The town Catholics, who then began to increase in numbers and wealth, got better premises, and moved the Chapel up to the rere of the Diamond, just behind A. Brennan's. This incensed the more bigoted Protestants, who used every effort to get the Chapel removed back to Dublin Street or the Shambles. Dacre Hamilton was appealed to, and some well-to-do Catholics began to negotiate with him. The terms were, that they were to give up the Chapel in the Diamond, and he was to give them a lease of the plot of ground where the Provincial Bank now stands. When this became known, the bigots became greatly

enraged at finding matters, from their view, only made worse, and they used every inducement to get Hamilton to break his contract with the Catholics, which he declined to do. They found that as old age was approaching, his bigotry decreased, while his cupidity increased, so they tried to frighten him by telling him he would not get his rent. This shook him at first. However, he said some of those Catholics who were negotiating with him, were well off; but when it was impressed on him that they were only trustees, his avarice and bigotry arose again, and he broke off the bargain. Soon after, pressure was brought to bear on the Catholics, and they surrendered the Chapel, the proximity of which to the Diamond offended the bigots of that day, on receiving an extension of the graveyard at the Parish Church. Shortly afterwards, in 1824, the late Mr. Peter M'Entee gave a lease of a house in Park Street, then Clones Street, and the town Chapel was built. The foundation of the magnificent Cathedral of St. Macartan was laid on 21st June, 1861. Its completion and dedication are of so recent a date that I will not dwell on them here, except to state that the building has been described by one eminent authority, as a "dream of beauty," while an eminent Ecclesiastic stated that the dedication was the greatest ecclesiastical event that ever occurred in Ireland.

The Protestant Episcopalians had no place of worship in the town for many years. After the conquest of Ulster by Elizabeth's forces, the old parish Church of Rackwallace was restored. And in the reign of James the First a residence was built for the rector on the Church lands adjoining the churchyard. In times of peace the rector resided here, but when any trouble arose, he availed of the opportunity to leave the locality and draw his salary elsewhere. During the war beginning 1641, the Church was retaken by the Catholics, but they were driven out of it at the end of the war. A short time prior to this, the Protestants of the town used a room in the Castle for prayers. About the beginning of the



ST. MACARTAN'S CATHEDRAL, MONAGHAN.

18th century a Church was built in Monaghan near the site of the present Church. This was a clumsy old building without a tower, until Mr. Richard Jackson erected one at the beginning of this century. The old Church was taken down, and the present symmetrical structure replaced it in 1836.

The present Presbyterian meeting-house, which was built in the year 1827, succeeded an older one on the same site.

The Seceders built a meeting-house near the Convent Lake, but as the title was defective, Mr. Alexander King, who was a strong member of the town congregation, pulled down the meeting-house in 1808, and included it in the Brewery. At this time there was desperate hatred and ill-will between the two sections of the Presbyterians; and so hostile did they become, that the more powerful congregation compelled the Seceders to abandon any hope of building a meeting-house in the town, and they built the present structure at Ballyalbany. It was during these quarrels, which extended all over Ulster, that the opprobrious names of 'Blackmouths' and 'Stiffnecks' were applied to each other.

The old Methodist preaching house in Dawson Street, at the reere of the present minister's residence, was built in the beginning of this century, and the present preaching house was built in Dawson Street about the year 1861. The other little preaching house in Market Street was built under the following peculiar circumstances. The late Mr. Richard Jackson, who amassed considerable wealth in the leather cutting trade, was very charitable to the different Protestant sects, and dropped some observations about building a handsome Church on the corner of Back Street, now Market Street, which came to the ear of a rather clever townsman, who forthwith went to Mr. Jackson and asked a lease. Jackson replied that he intended keeping it for the purpose of building a place of worship on it: to which the other replied, "If you give it to me, I'll build a house to the honour and and glory of God, that will be a credit to Monaghan."

Jackson gave the lease, and went away for change of air during the summer months. On his return he went to see the result of his generosity, and saw the fine drapery establishment, at present owned by Mr. James Mitchell. When he met the then occupier and recipient of his favours in the street, he asked him "where is the house to the 'Honour and Glory of God' you promised to build?" "Oh, here it is here," said he, pointing to the little preaching house at the end of Mr. Mitchell's. Jackson merely said, "I did not think you'd deceive me by leaving only a hole in the wall." Jackson went home and altered his will, and struck out a large legacy which he had left to the builder of the "Honour and Glory of God."

Duelling rose to a great pitch at the end of the last century. There were several men throughout the county who were professional duellers; who on the slightest excuse would send a challenge to an unfortunate neighbour or friend; some young men were known to pick quarrels with these fire-eaters, to have it to say they had fought with some celebrated dueller. Though some of these foolish youths lost their lives in their pursuit of notoriety, still it did not deter others from following in their dangerous footsteps. The last duels arranged or fought about Monaghan are now almost forgotten. The most notable of these was that in 1822, when Richard Mitchell, Junior, formerly Deputy Clerk of the Peace, fought Richard Jackson Robinson with pistols at Castleshane. The quarrel rose out of something Robinson's sister was alleged to have said about Mitchell. Several attempts were made to settle the dispute, but without success; and the party, which consisted of the two principals, Mitchell's second, Thomas Battersby, Robinson's second, James Mollen, and Dr. Temple, met early on the morning of 19th April 1822, near the old town of Castleshane. Shots were first exchanged without any damage being done, and all was nearly over when Dr. Temple made some contemptuous

remarks on the valour of the combatants, which had the effect of making them fight over again. In the second exchange, Robinson received a wound in the chest from which he died next day. A great sensation was caused by this. Dick Mitchell and the seconds were arrested, and Dr. Temple went off and hid himself. James Mollen gave evidence, and Mitchell and Battersby were tried at the Summer Assizes, 1822. The general impression at the time was that there had been treachery towards Robinson. The result of the trial was a conviction. Mitchell got nine months and Battersby one month.

At the Grand Jury dinner, during the same Assizes, Dacre and Skeffington Hamilton fell out with Edward Richardson about a public appointment. Richardson challenged one of the Hamiltons to mortal combat, and the other Hamilton challenged Richardson. Both duels were arranged to be fought the day but one after; but when the parties got sober the next morning, one of those very active in getting up the duel ran to the Crown officer and swore informations. All the parties were arrested, and the principals were bound to the peace for seven years in £5,000 each, with two sureties in £2,000 each. Lord Rossmore and Henry Westenra were sureties for the Hamiltons, while Colonel Leslie and "Mad" Montgomery were sureties for Richardson.

The official documents concerning this dispute were abstracted from the county records by some of the parties who showed the "white feather" on the occasion, so as to prevent future generations finding out who the hero was who acted "Bob Acres" in Monaghan Court-house in 1822.

The next famous duel arose out of the Election of 1826. Colonel Madden, of Hilton Park, quarrelled with Lord Rossmore about the Election, and the meeting was arranged and took place on the Armagh side of the Blackwater, at Ardgonnell Bridge. Lord Rossmore was shot in the foot, and Dr. Temple extracted the bullet on the spot, as it had barely penetrated the skin. Colonel Madden escaped unhurt.

Duelling ended in a farce in this county. A. K. Young, F.R.C.S.I., quarrelled with Dr. M'Dowell about a public appointment, and when professional jealousy whetted the temper of both gentlemen, Mr. Young, like Horace Hunter, sent a challenge to M'Dowell, which he was quite satisfied would never come to anything. M'Dowell was terribly frightened. He was a leading Orangeman, and could not allow his cowardice to be known, so he assumed a Falstaffian bravery, and accepted the challenge. This done, he was at his wits' end how to avoid the meeting without exposing his cowardice; so he called on Rev. Henry Moffit, Rector of this parish, and told him in the greatest confidence, and asked him his advice about the settlement of his temporal and spiritual affairs, but besought him to tell no living man of the coming event. Of course Mr. Moffit, like a sensible man, not to say a clergyman, at once informed the police authorities. On the other hand, Mr. Young, who had probably never heard of Alexander Trott, was greatly astonished at the acceptance of the challenge; however, he pluckily determined to see it out, and got his second, and arranged his pistols, but never thought of informing, so when the police sergeant came to arrest him he was considerably relieved, and at first blustered and defied the law. Ultimately on a few soft words from the sergeant "he went quietly." Mr. M'Dowell also showed a good deal of assumed indignation at the unwarrantable interference of the police in an affair between gentlemen, but also "went quietly" to the Magistrates, where both gentlemen were bound over to keep the peace, which neither of them intended breaking. The fame of their valour was sounded near and far, and Monaghan boasted of her last intended duel, equalled only by the great Winglebury affair of honour.

In the early days of the present century, Dacre Hamilton ruled the town and neighbourhood of Monaghan with the power of a despotic dictator. His influence with the Government was great, for he had

committed all the acts of brutality which characterised his class, in crushing the United Irishmen at the close of the last century. His power over the inhabitants of the country was such as can hardly be now conceived. He was agent for the Rossmore, Castleshane, and several estates. His word was law in Monaghan town and for many a mile around it. His character has been so ably painted by Carleton in Valentine M'Clutchy, that I will not venture here to touch on it. Though a rabid Orange partizan, still his co-religionists hated and feared him. The late Mr. A. K. Young, F.R.C.S.I. (I will not insult his memory by calling him Doctor even in his grave), used to tell that when attending Dacre Hamilton in his last illness, Hamilton asked him did the people know he was so ill; and being answered in the affirmative, he asked what were the different classes of people saying, and how did all feel about his illness. Mr. Young replied, that nobody appeared to take any notice of it, except that the Catholics of a neighbouring parish were rather uneasy. This roused the terrorist, who was overwhelmed by the gratitude of those whom he had scourged so long, and he asked with agitation was that really so. "Yes," was the reply, "*for they say you are the life in the lease of their school-house.*" He never rallied from this blow, and when he died in 1833, men and *women* breathed freely, that such a monster was removed from the world.

Meantime the town, after the loss of its right to send members to Parliament (by the Act of Union), lost one by one its other privileges. The last Recorder was elected in 1815, but the old Corporation existed down to 1844. The Corporation consisted of the Provost, twelve Burgesses, and an unlimited number of Freemen, the title of which was "The Provost, Free Burgesses, and Commonality of the Borough of Monaghan." There was an annual meeting of the Corporation on St. John's day, the 24th of June in each year, when the accounts were vouched before the whole towns-people.

In 1839 the meeting was summoned on 12th June, for following St. John's day. The Provost was Arthur Gamble Lewis, and the Burgesses who signed the summons were Henry Westenra, Alexander Fleming, Thomas Wright, John Hatchell, Maurice Burnell, Richard Mitchell, Alexander King, Joseph Robinson, and James M'Knight, first sergeant at Mace. At this meeting several by-laws were settled, and in addition to the night watchmen, the following officers were appointed:—

Caretaker and guardian of the seven Town pumps—Peter M'Coy, at the yearly salary of £30.

Clock-keeper of the Town—John Baxter, at £4, 10s.

First Sergeant at Mace—James M'Knight, whose duty was similar to the present Town Clerk, at a salary of £10, 10s. per year.

Second Sergeant at Mace—William Hillock, who, in addition to the duty performed by the present Town Sergeant, superintended the markets, and kept order in the town, and did the duty which is now discharged by a large body of police—for all this Hillock was paid £23, 3s.

And last there was the Town Bellman—James Hunt, whose duty was to make all public announcements, and for which he was paid £4, 10s. annually.

Under the old charter of James I. the right to hold fairs, markets, and impose tolls was vested in the Corporation; and by some sleight of hand for which our snobocracy are so remarkable, a patent was got by the Claremont, when he owned the estate, giving him the right to hold the markets, fairs, and to impose tolls.

In 1843 the Rossmore who then owned the estate appears to have become conscience-stricken, and handed over some funds to the town. And the following committee was appointed to administer them, viz.:—

1. Francis Adams
2. David Herner
3. John Murray

4. Peter M'Phillips
5. Joseph Robinson
6. Alexander King

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| 7. Peter M'Quaid | 15. John Mitchell |
| 8. James A. Ross | 16. Francis Fleming |
| 9. Wm. Temple, M.D. | 17. Henry P. Lennon |
| 10. James Warner | 18. Robert Murray, M.D. |
| 11. Matthew Vallely | 19. Alexander Fleming, |
| 12. William Murray | <i>Treasurer.</i> |
| 13. Robert Mitchell | James M'Knight, <i>Clerk.</i> |
| 14. Robert Little | |

The Committee met a few times in 1843, and in February 1844 they called themselves Commissioners. But special meetings were held on the 4th and 5th March, 1844, constituting Town Commissioners under the Act of Parliament. The Corporation existed alongside the Commissioners for a time, but gradually the officers became absorbed by the Commissioners. The last time the Corporation met was in June 1844. After that the old Corporation of Monaghan gradually passed away with the death of its members.

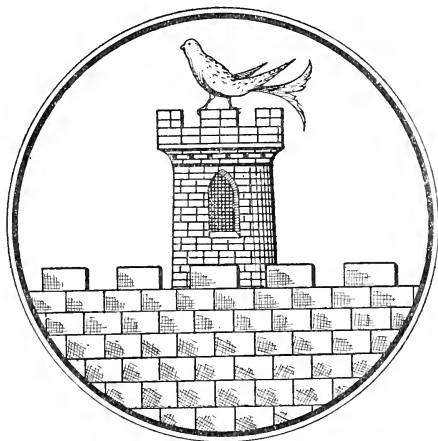
It appears that in 1844 the town of Monaghan was afflicted, as it has been ever since, with a plague of individuals who conducted themselves as they have done both before and since in Monaghan and elsewhere. And the Town Commissioners solemnly sat and considered a charge of dereliction of duty of the Town Sergeant Hillock, made by a Mr. Smyth; the gravamen of the indictment was that *little boys had been shooting marbles on his doorstep*—from which it appears there were little boys in Monaghan town in 1844.

In May 1845 a circular reached the Town Clerk inviting a deputation of the Commissioners to a Repeal meeting in the Conciliation Hall, on 30th May, 1845. The Commissioners refused. The Unionists of that day consisted of Alexander King, Francis Adams, Richard Skelton, Samuel Richardson, James Warner, Robert Mitchell, and John Armstrong, while there voted for their country only two, John Murray and Peter M'Quaid, both of Church Square.

In 1845 gas was introduced to Monaghan, and the inhabitants of that time considered that they were

enlightened to such an extent by its arrival, that nothing could be brought to the town which would advance them further.

Great confusion was caused in those days by the town clock, for its custodian regulated it by the watches of every stranger who arrived in Monaghan, and from local sun-dials. Few of our towns-people could indulge in the luxury of a watch, and those that were kept by the well-to-do inhabitants were doubtful time-keepers, and no three of them ever exactly agreed. So in December 1845 the Commissioners ordered the clock-keeper to take the time from the guard of the mail coach, and keep the town clock accordingly.



SEAL OF MONAGHAN.

In the early part of this century the mails to Derry were despatched from Monaghan at 8.20 a.m. and 5.55 p.m.; while the mails to Dublin, at 8 a.m. and 5.25 p.m. These mails were conveyed by the coaches. As the roads were improved, the hours were altered, the morning mails came earlier, and the evening mails later.

A coach passed through Monaghan from Enniskillen to Belfast.

For many years the principal hotel, then called the head inn, was in New Market Square (now Meetinghouse Square), and was owned by Thomas Corley, and was called the "Red Lion." Goods were conveyed to all parts of Ireland from the Red Lion and the Black Bull, both in New Market Square. The latter was owned by one Owen M'Aloon. However, all those who sent goods had to wait until there was sufficient goods to make a load.

In addition to the mail coaches from Dublin to Derry, and from Belfast to Enniskillen, a coach called the "Bang-up" left the Westenra Arms, then owned by Thomas Kelly, three times a week for Dublin, returned on alternate days; while another called the "Telegraph," ran from Andrew Goodwin's, Glasslough Street, at the same time for the same destination. The mail coach used to stop at the King's Arms in the Diamond, then owned by one George Little.

The present gaol was finished about 1824, and the Court-house which replaced the old gaol, was finished some years afterwards.

From 1808 up to the end of the fifties the brewery flourished where the Convent now stands, and while it was working conduced considerably to the prosperity of the town. There had been an old distillery where the houses of James Murphy and Patrick Kelly are now situated behind the market-house, but that had been idle for some years prior to the opening of the brewery.

The last Provost of Monaghan was Arthur Gamble Lewis. He was agent for the Rossmore estate, and married the widow of the Hon. Richard Westenra of Ballyleck, daughter of the last Scott of Scotstown, and grand-daughter of the last Owen of Monaghan. This marriage so annoyed the Rossmore family, who expected to get the Scotstown estate on the death of the present Miss Westenra, that he was dismissed from the agency of the Rossmore estate. He tried to assume the same power as Dacre Hamilton had held in Monaghan, and

for a time exercised sway over town and country. In his capacity as a Magistrate he was notorious for his partiality.

The first principle in British law is, that the King can do no wrong. The first principle in Colonel Lewis's law was, that a Protestant could do no wrong. He punished the faults of all Catholics who were brought before him with the greatest severity, while he treated Protestants with the very reverse. He got up a system of espionage on the estates over which he was agent and landlord, a system we have seen attempts to imitate in our own day. No man could drop an observation supposed to be disrespectful to the Colonel or his class, that was not reported forthwith to the office, and woe betide the unfortunate victim of the tale when he next came before the Colonel!!! He was a fanatical proselytiser; he started proselytising schools everywhere he could, and his employees spent much time in distributing Protestant Bibles and tracts broadcast over the country. Many a home was left desolate, the inhabitants of which could only trace their eviction to the refusal to admit to their families literature insulting to their religion. The priests, as times approached the Famine, had much to do and to suffer. On one side their flocks were threatened with starvation and eviction, on the other with the loss of their faith. And with very few exceptions both priests and people risked the former, so that the latter might be preserved. In many districts hundreds of families grew up in ignorance of letters, for the only schools within their reach were the proselytising schools founded by Lewis. Some months ago an Aghabog man was in the office of the writer on some business which necessitated his signing his name to a document. When the paper was presented to him for his signature, "I cannot write," he said, "I cannot write, yet a school was within twenty yards of my father's door. But that was when Colonel Lewis was our landlord, and Father Carolan our parish priest." What a face Lewis's Catholic grandson must have, when he joins in the

Tory cry through England, of illiterate voters in Ireland!

Colonel Lewis's pharisaical hypocrisy knew no bounds. Both in public and private, on the platform, and in the press, he boasted of his great missionary labours. How when he came amongst us we were an ungodly lot, and how by his schools, system of espionage, his good example, etc., he had converted the greater part of the County Monaghan. As the natural result, he was well attacked in the public press by those who did not shirk their duty in exposing him; while even the Presbyterian ministers had to complain of all he was taking to himself, in the salvation of souls.

He was as great a tyrant as Dacre Hamilton, without ability or power to exercise his tyranny to the same extent. It will hardly be believed nowadays, that he refused to take a respectable farmer's rent, and ordered him out of his office for daring to come into his presence with a beard on him. This farmer, George Nesbitt of Loyst, lived to apply to have a fair rent fixed for a judicial term under the Land Law (Ireland) Act of 1881.

Lewis was the last Colonel of the old Monaghan Militia, and was the last man who wore the old Yeoman's uniform through the streets of Monaghan.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TITHE WAR IN MONAGHAN.

FOR several years after the Union great discontent prevailed amongst the Catholics of Ireland at supporting the Protestant ministers. For a time it was turned aside by the rise of O'Connell, and the struggle for Catholic Emancipation. But when the Irish people found that that much belauded measure of Catholic relief brought no benefit to the large majority of them, and only injured the people by corrupting those who should be their leaders with bribes of office, the public mind naturally turned to look at the quarter from which they suffered most, and the collecting of the tithes was the most irritating, 1st, because it went to support the clergy of an alien religion, and 2nd, it was collected by a sort of bailiffs, called proctors, who could seize on any of the chattels or crops of every tenant farmer in Ireland.

The mode of opposition adopted by the people to this exaction was the now very familiar system of passive resistance. In the early thirties, there were some terrible and bloody scenes enacted. In June 1831, the cattle and goods of several farmers which had been seized in the counties of Carlow and Wexford, were put up for sale by auction in Newtownbarry, and a large crowd assembled to intimidate by their presence any one from purchasing. As no chance of a sale appeared likely, the police and Yeomen attacked the unarmed people, killed thirteen men, and wounded twenty.

This terrible tragedy, for which no one was ever made amenable, irritated all Ireland, and made it impossible for tithes to be collected without the aid of the police and military. In December 1831, a process-server was serving notices for recovery of tithes in Carrickshock, Co. Kilkenny, under protection of a large force of police, a crowd assembled and made attempts to take the pro-

cesses from him, and one young man seized the process-server and attempted to carry him off. One of the police fired and shot the young man dead on the spot. This was followed by a determined attack on the police by the people who were armed with all sorts of weapons. A desperate fight ensued, in which eleven police and some country people were killed. These were followed by several smaller struggles in different parts of Ireland. In the end of 1831 the Rev. Mr. Crookshank, Rector of Tyholland, in common with most other rectors, sent forth his proctors to collect the tithes. Large crowds assembled to resist the collection. The proctors were assailed by a crowd of people and fled for their lives through the country. The rector heard of it and sent for the police. There were only four men and a sergeant in a barrack which was then in Tyholland, and the sergeant wisely declined the invitation of Mr. Crookshank to aid in collecting the tithe in the face of such an angry assemblage. A troop of dragoons and some police came out from Monaghan. The people assembled in great crowds, most of them armed, on the hills, and there was general expectation of a real battle being fought. But the proctors could not be induced to continue their work even under such protection. This was the first resistance in this county, which was rapidly followed by similar scenes in several districts. On 1st February 1832, the Rev. Charles Evatt, Rector of Monaghan, sent out his proctors, Thomas Watson and Thomas Longmore, to collect his tithe. They succeeded very well until they reached Aughnaseda, when they entered on the farm of Mr. John Hughes, and demanded the tithe. John declined to pay, and produced a printed document which he said was an order from the Grand Club to pay no more tithe. John Hughes' brother then came forward and shouted to a young man at some distance, to sound the horn on Goudy's Hill, which was forthwith done, and had the effect of gathering a crowd who abused and hunted Watson and Longmore. As soon as news of this reached the town, the police and

military were sent out to arrest the Hugheses, and Michael Hughes gave the authorities a race for his capture. Having run about a mile hotly pursued by the police, he changed clothes with a young man named Barkey in Carn, who, being fresh and mistaken for Hughes, gave the police twice as severe a run through Tyholland for several hours, until at last he was surrounded and captured about Leitrim. The whole body of police and military brought Barkey a prisoner into Monaghan in great triumph. But, alas! on his being confronted with the proctors, the authorities were informed they had caught the wrong man. It was quite natural that Michael and John Hughes, uncle and father of Mr. James Hughes of Aughnaseda, who had both suffered for their country in '98, should have appeared on the scene as leaders in the resistance to the tithe, over thirty years afterwards.

During the early part of 1832 most of the Protestant clergymen in Monaghan, as in most parts of Ireland, were in great want, and a determined attempt was arranged by them to enforce the collection for the year 1832. Accordingly some of the more reckless employed the infamous Sam Gray, who, accompanied by an armed mob, carried off everything they could lay their hands on from the farmers near Ballybay. One man who resisted was shot by Gray. Gray stood his trial for it, and was acquitted of course. The tithe proctors were accompanied by forces of police and military into those districts where resistance was expected. All the parishes in Farney were the scenes of turbulent assemblies. On 9th November 1832 a body of dragoons under command of three magistrates (one a Catholic) protected the tithe proctors of the Rev. Patrick Cummings in collecting the tithes of Margheracloon. The people assembled, armed, some with guns, pitchforks, scythes, etc., to resist the collection, and a regular fight took place. The soldiers charged and cleared the roadway of the people, who got behind the ditches and fired shots and stones at the troops and proctors. The dragoons charged

into several of the fields, driving the people over the fences, who, as soon as they were driven out of one field, formed behind the fences of another. Ultimately the people crowded on the top of a high hill, whence they were driven and scattered by a desperate charge of the whole force. In this fight, which lasted several hours, many people and soldiers were wounded, as also was one of the magistrates, a Mr. James M. Reid, who was hit with a ball. The proctors returned empty-handed that evening.

Several attempts had been made to collect the tithes in Donaghmoynne, and even under the protection of the police, the proctors had failed. However, a plan had been laid by the authorities to enforce the payment of the Donaghmoynne tithes due the Rev. Mr. Porter; and a large force of police marched from Carrickmacross to protect the proctors. At the same time a troop of dragoons left Castleblayney. The p'lan was, that when the people who were expected to assail the police and proctors were engaged with them, the dragoons were to charge them from behind, and punish the people severely for their resistance of the law. The place where this was arranged to take place at was about the centre of Donaghmoynne. But the people were assembled more rapidly than the authorities expected by the sounding of horns; and long before the police and proctors reached the ground of the intended battle, they were surrounded by the people armed with guns, pitchforks, scythes, sticks, stones, etc. The people formed behind the fences and fired shots and stones at the police, who returned their fire from the road. A mounted police-constable, named Dawson, was despatched to meet the troops coming from Castleblayney, and to hurry them forward, but he had not proceeded far when he was knocked out of his saddle with a blow of a stone and killed on the road.

The commander of the police, seeing he could hold out no longer, proceeded to retreat. The body of police had to fight their way back to Carrickmacross, firing from behind fences, and fired at until they were within

half a mile of the town. Many were wounded on both sides, but it does not appear that anyone was killed except Richard Dawson. When the troops arrived at the place where the fight had been, they found the dead body of Dawson; and having learned what befel the police, they returned to Castleblayney.

Great was the rage of the authorities and Ascendancy party in the county at these failures, accompanied by the murder of Dawson. It drove them to a state of frenzy. The Protestant ministers were really frightened that in an Ulster county tithes could not be collected. And many of them were compelled to join the appeals for help, which came from the south and west of Ireland; so the governing classes in the county determined to incarcerate and hang everyone they could, under any pretext, get a conviction against for riot or murder. Accordingly wholesale arrests were made, and informers employed.

At the Monaghan Lent Assizes of 1833, Thomas M'Closkey, Peter Maguire, Owen M'Guire, and Michael William Reddy were indicted for riot and unlawful assembly at Magheracloon. Mr. Reddy objected to the finding of the Bill by the Grand Jury, as four of them were hostile to him and connected with the prosecution. Chief Justice Bushe allowed the objection, and directed a new Bill to be sent up, and ordered the Grand Jurors who had been objected to, to leave the room. M'Closkey was acquitted, and the trial of the others adjourned—Philip Mohan, Michael Daly, Francis Finegan, Junior, Charles M'Kenna, Francis Finegan, James Cullighan, Terence Graham, Edward Cullighan, John Goodman, James Reddy, Michael M'Cabe, and Pat M'Connan were indicted for the murder of Dawson, riot and unlawful assembly at Donaghmoyne. Philip Mohan, Michael Daly, and Pat M'Connan got each twelve months for the riot. The other trials were adjourned several times, when, through the agency of some private informer, one Bryan Cullighan was arrested, a strong case made against him, and he was sentenced to be

hanged at the Summer Assizes 1834, for the murder of Dawson. The others were then discharged. Cullighan's sentence was afterwards commuted to transportation for life. He was brought a prisoner to Dublin through Armagh, as a rescue was feared had he been brought through Farney on the regular coach road to Dublin. Ultimately, through the influence of the Whig Members for the county (who had been returned in 1826 by great sacrifices), Cullighan was pardoned in Dublin, before he set foot on the convict ship, and returned home a free man. But to return to the collection of the tithes. After these affrays, the resistance became more passive, and when a seizure was effected, no price could be obtained for the goods seized. Cattle that were seized were marked with a brand which was known all over Ireland, and even in England; so that it was impossible to sell them to any advantage. In 1834 a Coercion Act was passed, and a sham Church Act, which only partially removed the tithe exactions; and in December of 1834, another tithe carnage took place, this time at Rathcormac, in Waterford, where the police and military fired into a crowd, armed with sticks and stones. Several persons were killed, and the tithes carried off over these bloody corpses. This massacre only increased the resistance to the tithe, but it also made the people more cautious; and in our county, it was almost impossible in several parishes for the ministers to get tithes for several years. At last in 1838 an Act was passed, nominally abolishing tithes; but, in reality, transferring the liability from the tenant to the landlord, and enabling the landlord to add it to the rent, of which most of that interesting class took full advantage, and availed of the opportunity to raise the rents far in excess of the amount required for tithe.

The Act made the tithe a charge on the fee of the land. However, it removed the irritation of the forcible collection of tithes, and relieved the ministers of the unpleasantness of coming in contact with the farmers.

The Protestant Church enjoyed the tithes up to 1869,

when the Church Act of Mr Gladstone transferred it to the State, where it is now being used for many useful purposes. The landlords enjoyed the increases of rent up to 1881, when Mr Gladstone, backed by a strong agitation, reduced the rents in most cases, even below what was added at the Tithe Act. The landlord still pays the tithe, and it is hoped our Irish Parliament will soon have the management of that interesting and historic tribute.

CHAPTER VII.

SECRET SOCIETIES IN THE COUNTY AFTER THE UNION.

To an Irishman who loves his country the perusal of the following pages can bring naught but feelings of shame and sorrow. They cover a period mayhap one of the saddest in all our country's annals. For, though here and there may be met with deeds of daring and heroic self-sacrifice, inspired by the hope of a great national regeneration; yet, as a general rule, they contain nothing but the record of acts—desperate and despairing—of men who believed that their cause was lost beyond redemption.

With the failure of the United Irish movement, and the carrying of the Act of Union, our Protestant fellow-countrymen ceased to be nationalists. Those of them who had been United Irishmen either joined the Orange Society, or retired from politics altogether. The older generation of Catholics also gave up the fight, while the younger, still clinging to the hope of French aid, tried to keep the remnants of the United Irishmen's society together, in order to be able to co-operate with an invading French army. However, Napoleon's reverses on the Continent destroyed the hopes of even the most sanguine spirits amongst the Irish; and about the year 1810 we hear the last of the United Irishmen, in

County Monaghan. In that year two men, Thady Kelly and Pat. M'Hugh, were tried at the Monaghan Spring assizes and transported for swearing in United Irishmen. From this period a common organisation, with national self-government as its object, ceased to exist for many and many a year in Ireland.

The societies which sprang up now, were, in the several districts of the country, completely independent of, and often at war with, each other. Their object in the main was to act as a kind of counter-organization to the Orange society, which, founded some time before the Union, and pampered by the garrison party after that event in order that it might be used as a means of alienating the Protestants from the rest of their fellow-countrymen, had about this period a lodge in almost every district in the North. The members of these lodges backed each other in case of riot at all the popular gatherings, such as fairs, race-meetings, etc., and the Yeomen invariably backed the Orangemen, so that between the two parties, the disunited Catholics got very often worsted in these popular melees. It was to remedy this state of affairs that the Catholics resolved to join together in these secret societies. This private union gave them a certain amount of confidence in themselves, and they soon began to use their little secret conclaves as a means of protecting themselves against the insupportable tyranny of the local landlord or the proctor. And as in such cases, they could only make themselves felt by retaliating for injustice done, and as the heads of these societies were wholly irresponsible, this retaliation took shape in the perpetration of the most appalling acts of revenge.

But to return to the Orange society and their opponents in the county. Riots took place in several parts of the county. In 1813 Captain Singleton's Yeomen fired on and killed several people at Scarnageeragh (now Emyvale) fair. The Justices of the Peace declined to take informations against Singleton and his men, until compelled by an order of the King's Bench, and when brought to trial, the assize court of course let the mur-

derers go unpunished, so of necessity the Catholics were compelled to form themselves into societies. Ignorant men were the founders of these societies, and the noblest objects were degraded to the basest ends. The Ribbon Society was first introduced into Monaghan about 1813: for we find Pat Brady and Pat Kelly of Cornacrieve transported at the Monaghan assizes of Lent 1814 for seven years for being "Riband" men. The oath found to have been used by them was, "that he, P.B., should be a loyal Ribandman, and our intention is to destroy all heretics." Other secret societies started up in the county under various names of "Thrashers," "United Irish Sons of the Shamrock," etc.

These societies laid strongest hold on the Catholic young men in the barony of Dartrey, where the constant rioting at Clones fair excited the public mind with a strong party spirit, so that the Catholics became an easy prey to the propagators of these societies. The last place in the county into which the secret societies made headway was the parish of Errigle Trough.

On the 30th October, 1818, a riot took place at Aughnacloy races, between the Orangemen and Catholics. It lasted for some hours, and was renewed in the town of Aughnacloy. Ultimately the Trough people, who were Catholics, were induced to go home, but were followed out to the Blackwater by the Orangemen, and on the bridge the fight was renewed. Several magistrates were present, but none of them seem to have tried to restore peace except a Mr. Roger Ancketill, who got the contending parties separated, and negotiated between them. The Catholics, who were on the Monaghan side of the river, agreed to disperse if the Orangemen returned to Aughnacloy. But while Mr. Ancketill was striving to restore peace, a Mr. Falls from Dungannon succeeded in getting the Aughnacloy Yeomen called out under arms, and when the Orangemen found these allies coming, they renewed the fight, and the Yeomen fired on the Catholics, who scattered and fled. A few Catholics were shot dead, including a woman, and several

were wounded. The murderers were tried and acquitted at Monaghan Lent Assizes, 1819. Shortly after this, Errigle Trough was overrun with secret societies, and as was usual the rival societies began to fight each other. Riots took place between these rival factions at the fairs of Monaghan, Castleshane, Tydavnet, Knockbwee, and Scarnageeragh: so the leaders of all societies held a conference in Monaghan about 1820, and all the other societies were merged in the Ribbon Society. Crowds of young men joined it in the belief that in some indefinable way they could free their country—for traces and memories of the United Irish Society still remained amongst the people. Thus the membership of the Ribbon confederacy in Monaghan was composed principally of two classes, (1) those who were merely party men, and who wished to be united to fight the Orangemen; and (2) those who were united to free their country.

In the meantime the Government passed Coercion Acts, and several batches of young men were tried at different assizes at Monaghan, for association in these societies. On the other hand, the Government began gradually to withdraw the arms from the Yeomen and replace them with constabulary.

The General Election of 1826 had the first corrupting influence on the Ribbonmen, but at the same time it united them in the County Monaghan. The rival candidates began to negotiate with the Ribbon leaders, and Mr. Westenra's politics being the most agreeable, and nearest to the wishes of the Catholics and Nationalists of County Monaghan, they sided with him. Continuous rioting was kept up for a week in the town of Monaghan; so great was the rioting that the Government issued a commission to inquire into the cause of it, which, however, came to naught.

The return of O'Connell at the famous Clare election of 1828 caused great excitement all over Ireland, and helped to infuriate the Orange party throughout the country. Among O'Connell's supporters at that election was a newspaper proprietor from Belfast, named

John Lawless, and on his return he formed a triumphal procession of the peasantry through the County Meath, and the southern part of Monaghan. What the exact object of this procession was is not clearly known, but it is a fact that most of the Ribbonmen in Meath, Monaghan, and the adjoining counties joined the procession, believing it was the beginning of a great national rising, though they were armed with nought but sticks. The triumphal march had reached close to Ballintra, south of Ballybay, and the Orangemen assembled, armed in Ballybay, for the purpose of stopping the procession. A large body of troops under the command of General Thornton intercepted the processionists, and, with the persuasion of General Thornton and the local priests, the people were induced to return home. General Thornton estimated this gigantic procession to have numbered 100,000, and he expressed great admiration of the physique of the men, stating at the same time, that if Wellington had had those men organized into an army, he could have swept Europe.

In 1829 Catholic Emancipation was passed; and, though it is now over half a century since it was placed on the Statute book, still it is almost a nullity in the county of Monaghan, where Catholics are excluded from almost all the Government and all the county offices, principally through the influence of persons who are always proclaiming their toleration, yet who reap the revenues and emoluments of these positions themselves.

But Catholic Emancipation did great harm in our country, for it excited the bigoted ire of the Ascendancy classes, and disfranchised the forty shilling freehold voters. This latter had the effect of inducing the landlords—who could no longer derive any political advantage from the votes of their small tenants—to commence evicting them.

For a time, attention was drawn from evictions to the Tithe struggle, which I have already described. I may add, that the Ribbon society took full advantage of the excitement about the tithe to propagate their

branches; and at all their gatherings they resolved to resist the collection of tithe, and in this county the Ribbon leaders took an active part in organising the resistance.

Towards the end of the Tithe war, the Government began to enforce the Party Processions Act in the county; and at the Monaghan Summer Assizes of 1833, four batches of Orangemen were put on their trial for violation of the Act at Monaghan, Glasslough, Emyvale, and Clones. The first batch tried were Ralph Campbell, James Gillanders, John Gillanders, Thomas Ryan, James Halliday, James Moore, Richard Turtle, Robert Thompson, Edward Graham, and J. Joseph Moore, for forming part of a party procession at Monaghan. The case was clearly proved, and though there was practically no defence except a political speech from their counsel, they were acquitted. The Crown lawyers, seeing the hopelessness of proceeding with the case, got adjournments of all the others. Several similar incidents occurred at most of the Ulster Assizes, and threats were said to have been held out by the Crown of some strong measure of legislation which would empower the Crown to change the venue in all these party cases. The result was, that the following Assizes (Lent 1834), all these Orangemen pleaded guilty, and were let off with a fine of sixpence, on condition that they would not again violate the Act. The Ballybay Orangemen, led by Sam Gray, defied the law and marched in spite of the Act. They were tried at Monaghan, Lent Assizes 1835, and acquitted.

Sam Gray was for many years a remarkable figure in this county. He rose to notoriety by being a very hot Orangeman; and, having committed several crimes against Catholics, he had no difficulty in escaping with impunity, through the partiality of the magistrates and jurors. He kept a corner public-house in Ballybay, from which he hung as a sign a picture of King William crossing the Boyne painted on both sides of it, from which arose the expressive simile used by country

people—"The same on the other side, like Sam Gray's signboard!" Around him he gathered a set of desperadoes who were quite ready at all times to commit any crime, from perjury and robbery to murder. He was appointed a county-cess collector, a tithe-proctor, and by some Orange shoneens a rent agent. He always carried two or more pistols, which he used on every occasion upon which he had the slightest excuse. During the Catholic Emancipation agitation and the Tithe war, his power grew to a most dangerous height. The snobocracy, who at first encouraged him, became alarmed. When he committed any crime against any person, and was charged with it, he always brought a cross charge. These cases, being generally against Catholics, were always disposed of at petty sessions in Gray's favour. At last, through pressure from the Government, he was returned for trial in 1833, for riot and assault. The jurors took up the position of the magistrates and acquitted him. He was subsequently returned for trial several times, and assizes after assizes for several years he was brought up charged with assaults, firings at, and wounding, riots, manslaughters, and murders, but the Crown never could obtain a conviction, except once, when he deliberately shot two men, who had been witnesses against him in some civil case; one of the men died on the spot, the other (named Corrigan) survived. He was acquitted of the murder, but was convicted of the wounding. How the verdict was obtained will be presently seen.*

His gang of followers would allow no Catholic to pass through Ballybay or its neighbourhood after night, without producing a passport signed by Sam Gray!! The police were afraid to arrest him, and at the summer assizes of 1836, a constable named Leary was tried (and of course acquitted), for refusing to arrest Sam Gray, on a warrant handed to him by a magistrate. In 1840, the Sheriff's bailiffs refused to execute a writ

* This conviction was afterwards quashed in the Queen's Bench on a question of law.

on Gray, and the late Mr. Hugh Swanzy, who was Sub-Sheriff that year, attempted to execute it himself. Gray attempted to shoot him, but the pistol missed fire, and Gray threw Mr. Swanzy back and escaped into the house and shut the door, thereby excluding the Sheriff. Some of the police who were present were afraid to take any part, or assist the Sheriff. Gray was indicted at several assizes for this offence, but as there was always some more serious charge against him, it was left in the background until finally it would be allowed to drop.

About 1841 Sam Gray was at the zenith of his power. The law of the land had no terrors for him. An Orange jury had acquitted him in March 1841, of his last charge of murder, and he seldom now had need to break the law. His gang were ever ready to carry out his wishes. His public-house flourished, and he had a loan bank, out of which he lent the money of a great and wealthy admirer of his, named Bradford, and through this he attained the gratitude of some, and the popularity of all. Prior to this period the principal party cries of the Orangemen were to cheer for King William, and curse Phelemy Roe and the Pope, while on the other hand, the Catholics cheered for Phelemy Roe and cursed King William. From this period on for many years the Orangemen cheered for Sam Gray, and cursed O'Connell and the Pope, while the Catholics adopted the opposite expression. However, Sam Gray's fall was near at hand, and came about in this way.

The famous Rev. Thomas Tierney was at that time parish priest of Clontubret. He was well known in many circles of Irish society, in which priests seldom appear, and at a select party in Dublin, where some high officials were guests along with Father Tierney, a discussion arose about the system of "Passports," which then still existed in some foreign countries. One gentleman began to hold forth on the length of time which English liberty had flourished since their abolition in these countries: whereupon Father Tierney astonished all present, by stating that there was still a part of his Majesty's domi-

nions to travel through which a passport was necessary. Another personage then present said if such a fact was known, the Lord Lieutenant or the Government might resign. All expressed some doubt, and Father Tierney promised to produce before the Lord Lieutenant within a month a man carrying a passport. Father Tierney returned home next day, and on the evening he arrived he met a cattle-dealer coming from Shercock, and who had travelled through Ballybay. Being interrogated by Father Tierney, he produced the passport signed by Sam Gray, and Father Tierney took both the man and the passport by the next conveyance to Dublin, and presented both to the Viceroy. The "Pass" was sent to London, and the cattle-dealer was sent home. Shortly afterwards a Government official of high rank called on the Custos Rotulorum, and all the people of position and authority in the neighbourhood of Ballybay. Threats were freely indulged in by him towards the Orangemen, and all the measures usually put in force against Catholics were threatened to be used against them. The result was that most of the rural Orangemen were induced to withdraw from Gray, and he was left alone with his town mob. There had been three abortive trials for the shooting at and wounding of Corrigan, and the Government did what was never known before, namely, packed a jury to convict an Orangeman, and Sam Gray was found guilty with the result above mentioned. During one of Sam Gray's terms of imprisonment, awaiting his trial for murder, all efforts had failed to get him out on bail; so his son James Gray got one of his gang called William Millar, to personate Dr. Barron, and swear that Sam Gray's health was endangered by continued incarceration. Sam got out, but the plot was discovered, and Millar was transported at the Monaghan Summer Assizes of 1842. Several efforts were made to get James Gray off, but the Government again packed a jury, and transported him after Millar to Tasmania.

These convictions shook Sam's power considerably, but

his reputation received a greater shock. Amongst those who followed Sam Gray blindly, and did his bidding in all things, was Bradford Stewart of Clontubret, nephew of Sam's generous patron, Bradford; and in the summer of 1841, he was tried for perjury committed to get Sam out of one of his charges. Stewart was considered by all to be the heir of Bradford's wealth; but after Bradford's death it was found, to the astonishment of everyone who had this impression, that he left a will bequeathing all his property—not to his nephew—but to Sam Gray. Of course the will was disputed, and proved to have been a forgery, executed after the death of the alleged testator. The base ingratitude of Sam Gray disgusted many, but his blundering so far as to admit of detection, turned away from him most of his faithful followers who, up to that, believed firmly that he was above all the powers of law. Sam Gray for four or five years was seldom heard of outside Ballybay; and the news of his death on 7th September, 1848, brought to memory many daring and desperate deeds of former times. Three of his sons came into notoriety. His son Edward was tried at Monaghan in 1866, for the murder of a Catholic at an election, and was acquitted. His son William contested the County Monaghan as a Liberal at the Parliamentary Election of 1867, and was defeated by the landlords and Orangemen; and his son James, when released from prison, did not return home, but settled down in Tasmania, where he rose to a good position, and became member of the Tasmanian Parliament, and a democratic leader.

In the end of the Thirties the tithes were added to the rents of the tenant farmers by the landlords, who, once they tasted the sweets of increasing the rents, and of evicting the tenants, follow it up with real energy. This had the effect of turning the Ribbon Society into an agrarian combination, which terrified the landlords of Monaghan by the terrible example of murders and outrages in several parts of Ireland, and they hit on a

plan which worked well for a time. The Government had always spies and informers in the Ribbon body, and the landlords outrivalled the Government by getting persons in their pay to join the Ribbon lodges on their estates. These secret agents of the landlords were generally relatives of the bailiffs who could be relied upon to carry out the designs of their vile and tyrannical instructors, and in addition to giving information to the landlords of the intended doings of the Ribbonmen, managed to gather a strong party in each lodge who could turn away any danger that threatened their employers or any of the estate officials. Some of the larger landlords could boast that they swayed the whole Ribbon lodges of the barony in which their estates were situate. Though the landlords kept the Government officials informed of all the secrets of the Ribbonmen, the authorities seldom gave the landlords any idea of what they knew ; and the officials were often amused when complaints were made against their own informers by the landlords for the active part these prominent Ribbonmen were taking in propagating the society. When two neighbouring landlords or agents were on bad terms, their partisans in the Ribbon lodges generally fought, and by means of these secret agents endless quarrels and fights took place. There was seldom a market, and never a fair in Monaghan that riots did not occur and blood was not spilled in the streets—so that the Ribbon confederacy in Monaghan was dangerous to no one but its members, and would have continued so, had not one of the Ribbon leaders named John Rice of Ennis, in Clontubret, who was better educated, and had considerably more tact and ability than any of his brotherhood, taken upon himself to settle these quarrels. He succeeded well, in almost every case ; at first he performed these offices on principle, but ultimately he would not undertake such a task without receiving a fee of one pound from the lodge whose differences he was invited to settle. On all his journeys he rode a good horse, and wore a remarkable pair of top-boots and spurs. He went by the name of

“the Captain,” and though much looked up to by his ignorant followers, was laughed at by the landlords and Orange party; still the number of members of the confederation was increasing and internal quarrelling was decreasing. By degrees the landlords began to get afraid, lest when Rice had the lodges cemented together, they might suffer from the unity, and the terrible deeds perpetrated in other parts of Ireland be brought to their own doors. However, they found Rice had a rival named Francis M’Adam of Tirmacmoe, and were not slow to see that great advantage might accrue to themselves from this if properly handled; so the landlord and Government spies and their friends joined the party which united with M’Adam’s admirers and Rice’s enemies, and thus widened the split in the Ribbon society in that part of the county. Rice made many enemies by unjust decisions, and though M’Adam was not so clever, still he was just, and many thought more honest. The effects of this split were soon felt by increased rioting in Monaghan, Ballybay, and Castleblayney fairs. The Orange and landlord parties enjoyed these fights, and the police seldom interfered until all was over, and then arrested some of the victors of the rows.

At this time, 1840, a man in Buncrana turned informer. He was high up in the conspiracy, and all the leading men in Ribbon Ulster were known to him. Of course he knew John Rice, but did not know more of him than that he lived near Monaghan. Many of the leaders over the province were arrested and brought to Cavan to be identified, and the Government in Dublin could only think of the Rices of Leitrim being most opposed to British rule in the County Monaghan, and John Blayney Rice of Leitrim was arrested and brought by a strong force of police to Cavan, but when confronted with the informer, was found to be the wrong man, and was sent home again.

The principal Ribbonman in Monaghan was John O’Hanlon, son of a blue-dyer, named James O’Hanlon, who resided in Back Street, where Mr. Patrick M’Kenna

now lives. He interfered between Rice and M'Adam and made a sort of temporary compromise. The landlords loudly called on the Government to interfere, and both M'Adam and Rice were arrested. Both men carefully avoided bringing any incriminatory documents about their houses, but, strange to say, such documents were found in both houses. In Rice's house the find was most remarkable. Over the fire hung the famous top-boots, and the police-sergeant searched them as well as everything else in the house. A police-inspector entered the kitchen, and was told by the men that no documents had been found. The inspector thinking that the boots had not been searched, put his hand into them, and produced a bundle of documents, which of course he afterwards swore he found in one of them. At the Lent Assizes of 1840, both were put on their trials for conspiracy, and the Crown finding out beforehand that the trials were likely to be abortive, got adjournments for the following reason. During the Election of 1826, Rice so manœuvred the Ribbonmen as to always have a powerful mob in the town, who continuously held the streets against the largest body of Orangemen that could be brought in. Mr. Westenra, the successful candidate, was so pleased with Rice for his exertions on his behalf, that he promised Rice to be his friend, which he was, by using his influence amongst the jurors, so that no matter how the Government packed the jury, still it was certain that some one would get on who was under the influence of the Westenra family. On the other hand, the Right Hon. William Edward Lucas, who was politically and socially opposed to the Westenras, took M'Adam, who had been a tenant of his, under his protection. He had not the same influence with the jurors as Westenra, but had more influence with the Crown officials. So when M'Adam was put on his trial at the Summer Assizes of 1840, he persuaded the Crown officials not to pack the jury. After a long trial in which two police officers who proved the finding of documents, two informers, and two minor

witnesses had given their evidence, the jury disagreed. The Government got greatly enraged at the result. The other landlords in the county openly accused Lucas and Westenra of making friends of the Ribbonmen to save their own skins. The Crown decided to change the venue in both cases to Armagh. However, Lucas saved M'Adam by undertaking that he would plead guilty next assizes. Accordingly, at the Lent Assizes of 1841, Francis M'Adam pleaded guilty, got three months, and was ordered to give security for good behaviour for seven years. Rice was brought to Armagh Assizes, and being convicted there, was transported for seven years. It has been frequently said that M'Adam turned informer, but there is not a particle of evidence to substantiate this charge. All his plans had been betrayed, many of his friends turned against him, and seeing, though rather late, the uselessness of further continuing leader of a body amongst whom there were so many traitors, he decided to surrender to the Government and retire from this useless conspiracy for the remainder of his days.

In a former Chapter I boasted that there were no informers of any importance in our county, in the time of the United Irishmen; but, alas! I cannot now speak in such triumphant terms of my county. On the contrary, the treachery and duplicity of the young men at the period of which I write, is enough to make an Irishman, much more a Monaghan man, hang his head for shame. The Government, as I have already said, had secret agents among the Ribbonmen, in every county, but these could not give sufficient information regarding the county lodges. Again there was hardly a lodge in the county in which some member was not in private communication with the police; every police sergeant had one or more men, betraying all the secrets to him. There was another set of informers, who communicated only with the officers of the police, and these were divided into two classes—one, the members of which were intended to appear as witnesses when any prosecution

was brought, and the other, whose names were never divulged, and without the other informers knowing it, kept a watch on them, and on all the Ribbon leaders. Some of the most active members of the society in the county were found amongst these secret agents. To so great an extent did this custom of betraying their comrades lay hold of the Ribbonmen, that the police refused information from several. A story is told of two neighbours having a quarrel in a lodge, and both made up their minds to inform, and both came to Monaghan with the intention not only of betraying each other, but of betraying the whole lodge. Both men met at the door of Sub-Inspector M'Kelvey's house, just as the door was opened by M'Kelvey, and the worthy trio stood spell-bound. M'Kelvey was first to speak, and asked what they wanted, whereupon both the Ribbonmen took to their heels in opposite directions!

There was no great national object in the Society. Some wished it to be run on national and anti-English grounds—these were the majority of the rank and file—while some wished it only for protection against the landlords. This class included a large proportion of the leaders. Others wished it as a counter society against the Orangemen, and others again wished it only as a society for fighting amongst themselves, and encouraging factions. Most of the informers belonged to this latter class. O'Connell's speeches were being then extensively read throughout the country, and they inculcated a strong national feeling, and roused the dormant patriotic sentiments in the breasts of many Ribbonmen. Nine out of every ten who read or heard read the speeches, took all O'Connell's declarations about peaceful methods of regaining their independence, to mean the very opposite of what he said. So some of the Ribbonmen pressed to have the society turned into a regular revolutionary body; the unprincipled men who headed the different lodges in this county resisted the change, and numbers of young men left the society, and joined themselves to the remnants

of older societies, which still were found in a few places, especially in the barony of Dartrey. These societies were the "United Irish Sons of Freedom" and "Sons of the Shamrock." A man named Thomas M'Manus, of Clones, made a successful effort to unite both of these bodies into one society, and the Government at once pounced on him, and at the Lent Assizes of 1842, he got six months' imprisonment. The leaders, urged by John O'Hanlon and fearing to lose most of the young men, made the society in the County Monaghan more national. The party who wished to employ the confederation for their own selfish ends objected to this, and caused a new split in the body. They told the more ignorant members, if they made allegiance to the Queen part of the oath, nothing could be done on them by the law. Of course the anti-English party objected to this oath, which contained the following paragraphs, "I solemnly declare and promise in and true allegiance to her Majesty Queen Victoria," and after pledges of secrecy, obedience, etc., "that I will not join any other society whatever, not meaning trade society or soldier." In 1843, the authorities in Dublin Castle sent down word to the local authorities, complaining that in some neighbouring counties the officials had not only the names of the Ribbon leaders in those counties, but of every man in the society, and all their plots and doings, and at half the expense that was being paid to the County Monaghan informers. The stipendiary magistrate, and county and sub-inspectors were at their wits' ends to manage this, and in the middle of their difficulty the secret agent for the Monaghan district, who was intended to be put in the witness box, died—so they had to induce one of their private spies, named Thomas Gillan, to consent to be public informer. Gillan had been sworn in a Ribbonman at Drumlish, in the County Longford, in 1827, and to all appearances was one of the most active members of the Ribbon confederation, swore in men by the hundred, and urged the extreme and revolutionary propaganda. In fact he was one of

the most trusted leaders and knew all the secrets, which of course he was careful to confide to the police officers. He was a while at Carrick, and a while at Castleblayney, and was finally sent to his native parish of Donagh, where the society was very strong owing to the discontent caused by wholesale evictions at Glasslough.

Every three months the passwords were changed, and these passwords were called "Renewals;" and the June fair of Monaghan 1843 was appointed for the heads of the lodges to get their renewals. The passwords were arranged in Dublin, and sent out through each district by trusted messengers. The County Monaghan Government officials at once hit on a plan of directing some of their spies to move that not only the Ribbon leaders of the district of Monaghan, but of the whole county, and of part of Armagh, should assemble and bring with them lists of all the members in each district. By this means they would not only catch all the leaders in a trap, but get on their persons the documents which would enable them to know the name and rank of every Ribbonman in the County Monaghan. Gillan was first to tell of this arrangement to Sub-Inspector M'Kelvey, who ran delighted with the important news to the Stipendiary Magistrate, who smiled at M'Kelvey, and told him that it was he (the Stipendiary) who had arranged the whole matter. M'Kelvey was greatly cut to think that there were informers who would not be entrusted to his care and knowledge. However, the whole matter was arranged, and the messenger, Pat Cavanagh of Bridgeacrin, County Louth, arrived on the evening before the fair with the "Renewals," and stopped in Francis Mohan's public-house near the market house. Some leaders from the southern part of the county suspected that some sort of a trap was being laid, and not only did not go themselves, but sent word to all who were likely to be in Monaghan to stop away. The Armagh men could not come in consequence of the funeral of an important Ribbonman in their neighbourhood, which they had to attend; but two

men, named Gubby and Gray, were sent by them for the "renewals" on Sunday evening, and John O'Hanlon, knowing them, told Cavanagh he might give them, which he did. Thomas Gillan, who lived at Sillis, was directed by the police to be early at the meeting, which was to be held in Francis Mohan's, and not to stir out of the house until all were arrested, lest anything should be hidden which the authorities might want. The other spy was in a window in the opposite side of the street, and was to give a signal to a detective when all the Ribbonmen had arrived. The hour appointed was 2 p.m., and only the local men turned up, and the spy waited and waited. The men inside began to get impatient waiting for the arrival of the southerners, and in order to while away the time, Gillan suggested that those who were there should produce their lists, and that all the men would be counted. Several of those present would wait no longer, and Gillan, in order to keep the rest together, called for drink, and while they were at it, he said he would go out to see was there any sign of the others. The moment he got out he ran for M'Kelvey and told him in breathless haste, that unless he came at once the assemblage would have been scattered. Before he left the room he saw John O'Hanlon put the paper with his copies of the renewals, into his vest pocket. When the drink was brought up all the papers on the table were moved to one corner of it, and Mohan's servant girl, Bridget Woods, who was serving the drink round, appears to have had a general idea of what was going on, for on glancing out of the window she observed that the house was being surrounded by police. She swept the whole pile of papers off the table into her apron, and ran with them out of the room and down the stairs. The Ribbonmen shouted with rage at her, and one of them ran down the stairs after her. They passed three policemen ascending, who took no notice of the girl running down stairs pursued by a man; but when the man observed the police pouring into the house he turned with the intention of running up and warning his companions. Some of

the police below shouted to those who were ascending not to let him up, and a sergeant, whom he and the girl had passed, turned round, caught the Ribbonman by the neck, and pushed him down stairs, and the police below hustled him out of the house. The girl threw the papers into the boiler on the kitchen fire, so that those who took punch and tea on that day in Mohan's drank down the passwords, secrets, and names of all the Ribbonmen in and around Monaghan. The Ribbonman who had been so unceremoniously hustled out by the police ran round to a small house on the site of which Mr. Patrick Nolan's house now stands, and in which then lodged one Arthur M'Gee, a sawyer, who was high up in the Ribbon confederation, and who held a large number of documents referring to the society. When he reached this house he ran to a chest in which he knew the documents were, and being informed by M'Gee's landlady that the proprietor was from home and had the keys with him, he broke open the chest with a spade, and took out a large number of papers, which he then and there burned in the fire. Meantime M'Kelvey and the head-constable and several other police arrested all the Ribbonmen in the room in Mohan's, and searched all those whom they caught in it—the head-constable at once drawing forth out of O'Hanlon's pocket the only document amongst the whole party. The police were awfully "sold" at not getting any more documents and marched the prisoners off. The Head and a few other police proceeded direct to M'Gee's lodgings in Mill Street, and went straight to the chest, when the Head exclaimed—"The chest is here, but there was some one at it before us." The prisoners were let out on bail, and Gillan was the first man to whom they confided all that had happened. O'Hanlon told him that it was lucky the police had not searched his house, for there were fourteen copies of the renewals on the attic. Messengers were forthwith dispatched to every district where renewals had been sent to direct them all to be burned. Gillan being a reliable man was sent by

Pat M'Kenna of Mullaloughan to Armagh after Gubby and Gray, and was present when both burned their renewals. At the following July Assizes, 1843, John O'Hanlon of Monaghan, Alexander M'Kenna, Mulla-brack Shaw, Pat M'Kenna, Mullaloughan, William M'Kenna, Derryhosh, Patrick Duffy, Laragh, Mick Connolly, Lisnashannagh, and Patrick Cavanagh, from Bridgeacrin, were charged for conspiracy; the Crown got the cases adjourned in the hope of getting more evidence; but without success, for all the Ribbonmen got cautious and suspicious. It is necessary when an informer proves against a person for his evidence to be corroborated; but the only corroboration the Government had was the scrap of paper found in O'Hanlon's pocket. All were indicted again at the Lent Assizes of 1844, as well as Edward Kelly and Charles Kelly, who had left the room between Gillan's going out and the police coming in, as was also Gubby and Gray. We can imagine the rage and disgust of the Ribbonmen, when they beheld their trusted confederate Gillan enter the box, and tell the well-known tale of all informers. O'Hanlon was the only man convicted. Of course it was the renewals in his own handwriting found in his vest pocket, which corroborated Gillan, that convicted him. He was transported for seven years, and the others were discharged. The following is a copy of the renewals found on O'Hanlon: "How do you do, sir—I am quite content—In what cause—Our present laws—O may all true Irishmen know agree—yes, and France will join us speedily. Are you persevering, sir—My cause is just. Mark, T.G.

CHAPTER VIII.

SECRET SOCIETIES—*continued.*

AFTER the arrests and trials described in the foregoing Chapter, the Ribbon society in this county was torn into fragments. No one could trust his neighbour, and the members began to suspect and accuse each other, so that factions sprang up in all directions. The *Nation* newspaper now began to make itself felt through the country, and the more intelligent and educated nationalists in town and country began to conceive the idea of armed insurrection, and for three or four years the young men began to turn their attention to the *Nation* office, and from thence take all their ideas.

Three of our townsmen held prominent positions in the Young Ireland movement, viz., Charles Gavan Duffy, Terence Bellew M'Manus, and Thomas Devin Reilly, and the men of our town and county were longing for the time when they would be under their leadership. Several clubs were formed in the towns and villages of the county.

The M'Mahon club was formed in Monaghan, and most of the young men in the town joined it. A couple of preliminary meetings were held; one of its members kept Sub-Inspector M'Kelvey constantly informed of all their doings. At the first regular meeting of the club, two shop assistants, who were members, and who appear to have been filled with more revolutionary ideas than with patriotism, fell out and fought about which of them should possess a certain local demesne and residence (Cornacassa), after the revolution. Some of the more sensible and patriotic members reproved them, while many got up and left. The intending chairman of the club was met in the street by one of the latter, who advised him to have nothing to do with it, and both returned home. While they were yet in the street

M'Kelvey and a number of constabulary entered and seized the books, papers, etc. The police had been a little "too previous," and no regular conspiracy could be proved, so nothing more was heard of the matter; but the club never met again.

The old Ribbon leaders lost most of their power, as all the young men turned their attention towards the great National insurrection which they expected at any moment. The famine and evictions came on in 1847 and 1848, and the Young Ireland party were smashed up. The Government served out a large number of old firearms amongst the Orangemen, and on the 12th July 1848 every Orangeman in the county was invited into Monaghan to make a great armed demonstration. Thousands of them marched through Monaghan town, most of them in military order, carrying guns and bayonets. The demon of bigotry had been inculcated into them to such an extent that they thronged into town under the most degrading circumstances. Many men marched that day who had lived for weeks and months exclusively on Indian meal. Many marched that day who were living in hovels after being evicted from their farms; while many more came with the notice to quit and ejectment hanging over their heads, and starvation and exile staring them in the face. In no part of the county did they come in contact with the Catholics, but in many instances they came into collision with one another. When the whiskey of which they partook, acting on the half fed stomachs, had maddened them, in several instances the firearms were used, and several men were missing after it. In all cases these rows were hushed up, but in one terrible instance it was reported to have been an accident caused by a number of muskets which had been put in a cart going off, through the shaking of the cart on a road in Killevan. The only instance which ever came into the courts was that of a man who was killed on the Ballybay road. The defence made out that it was an accident.

When the famine had passed, and O'Connell was

dead, and Mitchel, Reilly, Meagher, O'Brien, etc., in prison, all hope of the liberty of Ireland was lost. The landlords let loose the ejectments on the beggared and starving tenantry, who had no leader to look to, and no hope to expect, so they became an easy prey to the old Ribbon leaders, who laid hold on them, and the society became revived all over the county. In the southern end of the County Armagh the Ribbon confederacy laid real hold on the people, and several murders were committed, and attacks made upon the landlords, agents, and bailiffs, with the result that abatements were made in the rents, and evictions became rare in the locality. Two notable incidents followed in Monaghan, from the recitals of which may be gathered many wholesome lessons by young men who are in danger of joining secret societies. One was the murder of Thomas Douglas Bateson, Lord Templetown's agent; and the other a conspiracy to murder William Stewart Trench, agent, Patrick M'Ardle and Patrick M'Mahon, bailiffs, of the Marquis of Bath.

The tenants on the estates over which Bateson was agent made several demands for abatements of their rents. They were unable to pay the full rent, and, consequently, ejectments were extensively served. Several other things tended to make Bateson objectionable. It is said he rivalled Lord Leitrim in many of his ways, so that there was much personal enmity towards him. In the harvest of 1851, those tenants of the estate managed by Bateson, who were Ribbonmen, held a meeting, and a man named William M'Ardle, then of Creighan, but afterwards of Monaghan, presided. The following names are mentioned as having been present: Edward M'Guinness, James Woods, Bernard Rooney, of Tullycashey; Francis Flanigan, and Pat Cooney, of Killyracken; as well as several others. The position of the tenants was discussed, and the hopelessness of the majority of them being able to pay the full year's rent that year was agreed upon. The success of the Crossmaglen men was pointed out, and it was thought that nothing

short of the assassination of Bateson could save them. They, therefore, came to the conclusion to hire some Armagh men who had succeeded on former occasions in murder and outrage. An indemnity fund was started, and those present deposited £20 with James Woods, who was to return it when the amount was collected. Several men started to collect money to pay the intended murderers, and M'Ardle engaged a desperate character, named Neil Quinn, who was said to have assisted at no less than six murders and attempts at murder. He also communicated with another Armagh Ribbonman named Bryan Grant, who was, to all outward appearances, a good and charitable man, and no doubt would have been a good citizen, had not his patriotism driven him into the Ribbon society, and at once he became one of the desperadoes of the times. M'Ardle told Grant to bring an assistant with him, and he engaged a hard-up neighbour named Pat Nogher by telling him the large sum of money that would be paid for the killing of Bateson. The three hired assassins met some of the local Ribbonmen in Castleblayney on the last market day of November 1851, but Bateson did not come into town that day. At some of the interviews Quinn complained as to the employment of Nogher, whom he did not trust. Some of the others who were present, had some grumbling about the perpetration of the intended crime, upon which Cooney said, "If you all scared at it, I will do it myself." On the December fair day, most of the conspirators assembled again in Castleblayney. M'Guinness brought Grant down to the Court-house and pointed out Bateson to him at the Petty Sessions. Cooney brought a pair of pistols. All slept in Castleblayney that night. On the next day a messenger was sent to two brothers named Kelly, who had no connection with the conspiracy, but who were suspected by the police as likely to be implicated in any conspiracy against Bateson owing to wrongs they had suffered at his hands, to advise the Kellys to spend the next evening at the police barracks in ball playing. The Kellys either did not understand

the meaning of the message, or considered they were safe enough in company with country people, so they went to a dance, instead of following the advice tendered them.

On the evening of 4th December 1851, a rumour spread through Castleblayney and the neighbourhood, to the effect that Bateson was likely to be murdered that evening, but somehow the rumour never reached the authorities, or if it did they did not believe it. On the same evening Quinn, Grant, and Nogher went out from Blayney and loitered on the road near Bateson's farm at Corratanty. Bateson came down the lane, and was followed by Grant carrying a pistol, and he was soon joined by Quinn, who also carried a pistol, Nogher keeping watch on the road for fear of surprise. Quinn fired first and hit Bateson in the back of the head. Grant's pistol missed fire. Bateson staggered backward and forward, his hat fell off, and he staggered over and fell against the ditch. Grant and Quinn leaped on him, beat him with stones and the butts of their pistols, and kicked him to death. The three murderers ran off across the country to their own homes.

Though the news of this terrible crime was expected by the country people, still, when the fact was made known, there was a great sensation throughout the whole county. Shortly before this time the Ribbon society, which had been for a long time dormant in the barony of Farney, was revived by the arrival of navvies who were working at the Irish North-Western Railway. Among these was a young man named Thomas Hodgins, who came from Dromiskin, in the County Louth, and who propagated the Ribbon society throughout the youth of Farney. He was brave and reckless, and had a determined and decisive manner, as well as a genial temperament which enabled him to ingratiate himself with young men, the effect of which was to give a great impetus to the influence and spread of the confederation in Farney, so much so, indeed, as to cause grave alarm to the landlords and their myrmidons. The people of Farney were then suffering from the iron rule of two

agents, Messrs. Trench and Morant. The former was agent for the Marquis of Bath; the latter for Mr. Shirley. Some of the farmers who were Ribbonmen came to the decision of murdering Mr. Trench and his bailiffs, M'Ardle and M'Mahon; and they engaged Hodgens and a reckless man named Thornton, nicknamed "Hairymen," of a bad moral character, to commit the crimes. £20 was the price they were to be paid for shooting Trench, and £10 each for the bailiffs. On the 7th January 1852, they tried to assassinate M'Mahon. They were assisted by one James Treanor. Both Hodgens and Thornton fired at him, and both shots missed, and M'Mahon escaped unhurt. Some of the Ribbonmen were more anxious to have Trench shot, while others did their best to save him. There is reason to believe that these latter were in the pay of Trench, and that their object was to save Trench's skin at all costs, while letting the Ribbonmen commit themselves by murdering or attempting to murder the bailiffs. Trench—like Mick M'Quaid—evidently thought that if the shots were intended for him, they would not hit him, and that if the bailiffs were shot they could be easily replaced. So Trench's agents prevailed and turned their unfortunate dupes' attention on the bailiffs. Several arrangements were made for attempts on M'Ardle's life, but all fell through, until 29th January 1852, when Hodgens and Thornton hid themselves at the corner of a lane, down which M'Ardle was expected to drive in his gig on his return from Carrickmacross market. Before M'Ardle left Carrickmacross, one Thomas Gartlan of Kinderaclloy, whom M'Ardle had befriended in getting his brother's farm, met him and told him that if he went home his life was not his own. Whether Gartlan was an informer, or, as he alleged, merely overheard a conversation between Hodgens and Thornton, is not at all clear. At all events, when M'Ardle heard the news, he informed the police, who proceeded to the place where Thornton and Hodgens were waiting for M'Ardle.

We must now return to where we left Bateson dead

on the road in Corratanty, on 4th December 1851. The Government were determined to hang someone, so they arrested the brothers Kelly, and proceeded to make up a case against them, with the full determination of hanging them. The local landlords, through the press and through the Castle officials, worked up a scare and induced the Government to issue a special commission. Accordingly, in the end of January 1852, the two Chief Justices Blackburn and Monahan proceeded to Monaghan to hold the special commission and extraordinary assizes, accompanied with all the military pomp with which the first assizes was held in Monaghan in the reign of Elizabeth.

The first case brought forward was that of Owen and Francis Kelly, who were charged, together with a person unknown, with the murder of Thomas Douglas Bateson. The Crown counsel, led by the Solicitor-General (commonly called "Go-to-hell Hughes"), prosecuted, and the prisoners were defended by Isaac Butt and Samuel Ferguson. The prisoners refused to join in their challenges, and only one (Francis) was tried, and a jury consisting of eleven Protestants and one Catholic, and nearly all were landlords' agents, or those who were supposed to sympathise with them. The trial began on Tuesday morning, the 28th January, and lasted for three days. Thirty-two witnesses were examined by the Crown, amongst whom were two who swore positively to having seen the Kellys kill Bateson. The Stipendiary Magistrate, named Howley, worked up the prosecution with considerable ability and energy; but when in the witness box, he made admissions in cross-examination by Mr. Butt, which considerably shook the Crown case. Great and eloquent speeches were delivered by Mr. Butt and the Solicitor-General, both for and against Kelly. The jury retired about 6 p.m. to consider their verdict, and at 8.30 p.m. they were called out, but had not agreed. They were locked up all night, and at 9 the following morning were again called out, and as they had not agreed were again locked up until 5 p.m.

that evening—when three of the jurymen took ill, one rather seriously. They were then discharged without finding a verdict. Trench afterwards wrote a book called the “Realities of Irish Life,” and in the first edition of that book—for the purpose of blackening his Catholic fellow-countrymen—he alleged that the eleven Protestant jurors were for a conviction in the case referred to above, and the one Catholic against it. This lie was nailed by Mr. Butt; and Trench afterwards had, however reluctantly, to perform that most disagreeable, but oftentimes necessary, dietetic feat, viz., “swallow the leek,” in this matter. The fact was that nine were for an acquittal, viz.: Richard Allen Minnett, John Moorehead, David Smyth, Hubert Prendergast Kernan, Humphrey Jones, John Goudy, Allen Dudgeon, William Millar Ryan, and Andrew Clarke. Kelly was again put on his trial before a jury, exclusively Protestant, and almost the same scene enacted. This time the jury were equally divided. Thus, two innocent men escaped with their lives through the honesty and uprightness of these Protestant jurors, many of whom were agents and landlords.

During the progress of these trials, the news reached Monaghan of the capture of Hodgins and Thornton, and the conspiracy to shoot Paddy M'Ardle. Hodgins and Thornton were hurried to Monaghan before the Commission, but the only charge which could be brought against them in the hurry was, that of having arms in a proclaimed district, for which they were each sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

The other trials at the Commission, were William Randal M'Donnell, for sending a threatening letter to the late Thomas Edmund Wright. The trial was postponed in this case; and Owen Burnes, who was charged with a Whiteboy offence, was let out on bail. Thus ended the great Special Commission, which was got up with the principal object of hanging two innocent men.

During the Spring following, a quarrel took place amongst the Castleblayney Ribbonmen about the funds

collected for the murder of Bateson, which, it was alleged, the collectors had embezzled, and one of the leading conspirators, Patrick Cooney, swore informations against a man named Woods for holding the money. This gave the Government the first real insight they got of the conspirators. About the same time a beggar-woman called Marra Ruadh (or Red Mary), told the police that she had been lodged for charity in the house of Bryan Grant on the night of the murder, and she had seen his wife wash bloodstains off his shirt-sleeves. This at once put the Government on the right track, and all the conspirators named by Cooney, including Cooney himself, as well as Grant and Nogher, and shortly afterwards Neil Quinn, were arrested.

Several of the Farney men were also arrested, and every inducement was held out to several of the prisoners to get them to inform, and for several assizes the trials were postponed in order to tire out those of the prisoners who were inclined to surrender.

At last, in the summer of 1853, rumours began to spread of informers arising amongst the prisoners. And when the assizes opened in the summer of 1853 it was known that Nogher and Thornton had turned informers on their respective companions, and at the summer assizes 1853, Quinn, Grant, and Cooney were indicted for the murder of Bateson. The trial began on the 9th, and ended on the 15th with a split jury. There were several gaps in the case of the Crown, and confidence was much shaken by the positive manner the Crown had brought forward the case against the Kellys. At the same assizes the Bill was thrown out by the Grand Jury against Thomas Hodgins, James Corrigan, Pat M'Mahon, James Marron, Bryan Roddy, John Connolly, Patrick Breen, Patrick Curtis, Thomas Gartlan, Hugh Martin, Patrick Roddy, James Treanor, Hugh M'Namarrigg, James Martin, Bryan and Peter Muckian, for conspiracy to murder William Stewart Trench.

At the following assizes of Lent 1854, Thomas Hodgins and Patrick Breen were indicted for conspiracy to murder

Paddy M'Ardle. It was the original intention of the Government to hang Hodgens, Thornton, and Treanor. The officials found out that they could not do without the evidence of Thornton; and Treanor escaped out of Carrick Bridewell, after knocking down the policeman who tried to catch him, and after an exciting chase, succeeded in getting clean away, so they added the name of Paddy Breen to the indictment. Breen, who was a barrow-man, was a simple fellow. His connection with the conspiracy was that it was in his house Hodgens and Thornton lodged, before the attempted murder, and that he had brought a message to them concerning the whereabouts of M'Ardle. The two men were tried and sentenced to death. At the same assizes, Neil Quinn, Bryan Grant, and Patrick Cooney were sentenced to death for the murder of Bateson; while there was a split jury on William M'Ardle and Edward M'Guinness for the conspiracy to murder Bateson. It is worth noting that two of the jurymen who sat on the trials of Quinn, Grant, and Cooney, also sat on the first trial of Francis Kelly. One on that occasion was for the acquittal of Kelly, while the other showed equal alacrity to hang the innocent man, as he afterwards showed to hang the guilty ones.

During the interval between the passing of these sentences and the time appointed for their execution, the Government made strenuous efforts to procure information of the secret working of the Ribbon society throughout the country from some one or other of the prisoners, and Hodgens was selected for the purpose, he being supposed to have an intimate knowledge of its working in the counties of Louth, Monaghan, Armagh, and Down. Trench's services in this connection were accepted by the Government, and being posted by Thornton he sent his confidential clerk to Hodgens, to whom life, liberty, and reward were offered if he should give information to the Crown. He took a day to consider the matter, and during that day he made his peace with God, received the Sacrament of Penance

from Father Bermingham, now Very Rev. Dean Bermingham, P.P. of Carrickmacross; and next day when again approached on the subject, he rejected all such degrading offers, and faced death rather than stain his name as an informer. He and Breen were hanged, as also were Neil Quinn, Bryan Grant, and Patrick Cooney.

At the same assizes, William M'Ardle and Edward M'Guinness were tried for conspiracy, and the jury split. They were tried again in summer 1854, and in summer 1855. Each time the jury was packed, and composed exclusively of Protestants, and on each occasion the jury split, so the Government let out both on their own recognizances. This brought to an end the long sets of trials of Ribbonmen in the County Monaghan.

Still, all through the county, the lodges of the Ribbon society kept up a precarious existence. Rows and riots occurred between themselves from time to time, and the informers still flourished for the ten following years, and up to the early Sixties all national hope appeared to have vanished from the County Monaghan.

In the Spring of 1864 a tall well-looking man came on foot into the county from the direction of Armagh. What his errand was may be gathered, when I mention that he was no other than Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa. Though in latter times he has become ridiculous, still, his first visit here was as pioneer of a great movement, and he ought always to be remembered with warm feelings of gratitude in the County of Monaghan.

The history of the Fenian movement is so recent, that I will not venture to deal with it on this occasion. Though its members suffered from informers, spies, and traitors, as the members of all such societies that preceded it, still it came at the time of the awakening of our race; and the seeds sown, and the doctrines taught, laid sure and deep the foundation for the great organisation of twenty years after. The grand national principle worked into the mind of our country by the early Fenians will never die.

Good Irishmen often wonder how, in spite of their better judgment, they feel a sort of sympathy with the conspirators and murderers of former times; how we feel sad at the overthrow of a conspiracy, or rejoice at the successful escape of a criminal. This feeling is explained by, 1st, the old saying that "blood is thicker than water," and all these misguided Ribbonmen were of our own race and religion; 2nd, the object for which they struggled was to relieve the suffering of our down-trodden fellow-countrymen; and 3rd, their enemies were ours and our country's enemies.

The principal lesson taught by the foregoing pages to the young men and old men of our country is, that it is perfectly useless, not to say wicked and dangerous, to entrust themselves into a secret oath-bound society. All such have failed in the past, bringing suffering to the noblest hearts, and sorrow to the fondest. Thank God, experience, coupled with education, has made the great national organisation of the last thirteen years the most successful in any country of recent times. The doctrine of passive resistance has been brought to great perfection. Societies not oath-bound have kept their secrets better than any of the old oath-bound secret organisations.

We have passed through a great social revolution without almost feeling it, with the least bloodshed or suffering that ever marked a great change. Our national hopes are now stronger and better founded, and our prospects are brighter than they have been for centuries. Still, let us look back on those who had the same end in view, yet, through ignorance or passion, adopted wrong means, with a sigh for those who suffered, and a prayer for those who died.

CHAPTER IX.

CONCLUSION.

THE foregoing collection of disconnected papers are now brought to a conclusion, and if the book meets with any sort of success, the writer hopes to be able to produce in time a more regular history of our town and county.

The following figures which show the decay of the manhood of our town, is the saddest part of this book. Our population, which in 1841 was over 4,000, is now barely 2,000, for if the number of inmates in the institutions be subtracted from the 2,938, the population will be found less than half what it was in 1841. All our industries are gone, and the trade of our town consists almost exclusively in vending English manufactured goods and foreign grown produce to the country farmers of the neighbourhood, and the purchase of raw material from the farmers.

The writer does not here wish to prose over our public sorrows, but concludes with the following sad figures :—

THE POPULATION OF MONAGHAN—
TOWN, PARISH, AND COUNTY.

		Town.		Parish.		County.
In 1841	was	4,130	.	12,160	.	200,442
„ 1851	„	3,484	.	9,690	.	141,823
„ 1861	„	3,910	.	9,302	.	126,482
„ 1871	„	3,632	.	8,243	.	114,969
„ 1881	„	3,369	.	7,898	.	102,748
„ 1891	„	2,938	.	7,014	.	86,206

The increase in the population of the town in 1861 was due to the number of workmen employed in con-

structing the railway, and the population was kept up in 1871 by the building of the lunatic asylum. In 1733, those engaged in taking the hearth money enumerated the Catholic families in the County to have been 5,096, and the Protestant families, 2,838. After the Cromwellian wars, there appears to have been only 133 people living in the town—101 Irish, and 32 English.

The present Religious Denominations of

	Catholics	Protestants	Presbyterians	Methodists	Others
the Town are :	2,000	556	331	34	17
the County are:	63,154	11,247	10,876	489	440

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF M.P.'S OF BOROUGH OF MONAGHAN.

1613, Apr. 19	Thomas Reeves, T.C.	Dublin.
"	Henry Conlie, Gent.	Monaghan.
1634, June 23	Arthur Blaney, Esq.	Shien Castle.
"	Richard Blaney, Esq.	Monaghan.
1639, Feby.	Arthury Culme, Esq.	Lisnamain, Cavan.
"	William Cadogan, Esq.	Liscarten, Meath.
1661, Apr. 25	Thomas Vincent, Alderman	Irishtown, Dublin.
"	Joseph Fox, Esq.	Dublin.
1692, Sep. 26	Charles Deering, Esq.	Dublin.
"	Edward Ford, Esq.	Dublin.
1695, Aug. 10	Robert Echlin, Esq.	Monaghan.
"	Charles Deering, Esq.	Dublin.
1699	Col. Robert Echlin.	Monaghan.
	Charles Deering, Esq.	Dublin.
1703-1713	{ Sir Thomas Prendergast, Knight and Baronet. Sir Richard Vernon, Knight and Baronet. Sir Alexander Cairnes, Bart., in place of Sir Thos. Pren- dergast, Decd.	
1713-1714	Francis Lucas, Esq.	
	Richard Pockrish, Esq.	
1715-1727	Francis Lucas, Esq.	
	Hugh Willoughby.	
1727-1760	Sir Alexander Cairnes, Bart.	
	Francis Lucas, Esq.	
	Sir Henry Cairnes, Bart., in place of Sir Alex. Cairnes, Decd.	
	William Blair, Esq., in place of Sir H. Cairnes, Decd.	
	Baptist Johnson, Esq., in place of Fras. Lucas, Decd.	
	Oliver Anketell, Esq., in place of Baptist Johnson, Decd.	

- 1761-1768 The Rt. Hon. Wm. Henry Fortescue.
Richard Dawson, Esq.
Richard Power, Esq.,
 in place of Richd. Dawson, Decd.
- 1769-1776 The Rt. Hon. Wm. Henry Fortescue.
Colonel Roper Cunningham.
Henry Westenra, Esq., in
 place of Wm. Henry Fortescue,
 Lord Claremont.
- 1776-1783 The Rt. Hon. James Fortescue.
Major-General Robert Cunningham.
James Dobson, in place of
 Rt. Hon. James Fortescue,
 who made his election for
 Louth.
- 1783-1790 The Rt. Hon. Lt.-General Robert Cunningham.
Thos. James Fortescue, Esq.
The Rt. Hon. Theophilus Jones,
 in place of T. J. Fortescue,
 who made his election for
 Louth.
- 1790-1797 The Rt. Hon. Lt.-General Cunningham.
The Rt. Hon. Theophilus Jones.
Cromwell Price, Esq., in place
 of Rt. Hon. T. Jones, who
 made his election for Leitrim Co.
Henry Westenra, Esq., in
 place of Lt.-Gen. Cunningham,
 Lord Baron Rossmore.
- 1798-1800 William Charles Fortescue, Esq.
Henry Westenra, Esq.
William Fortescue, Esq., in
 place of Wm. C. Fortescue,
 who made his election for
 Co. Louth.
Faithful Fortescue, Esq., in
 place of Wm. Fortescue,
 Gent. at large to the Lord
 Lieutenant.

APPENDIX II.

BISHOPS OF CLOGHER.

Name.	Date of Death.
1. St. Macartin or MacCarthenn, Patron of the Diocese.	506
2. St. Tigernac (Tierney), Abbot of Clones.	550
3. St. Sinell.	
4. Deodeagha MacClairville, dedicated Inniskeen.	
5. Feidlimid (Phelim).	
6. St. Ultan, relative of St. MacCarthenn.	
7. Sethne.	
8. Earch.	
9. Eirglean.	
10. Cedach.	
11. Crimir Rodan.	
12. St. Laserian (Molaiser), Abbot of Devenish.	571
13. Tigerna.	
14. Altigerna.	
15. St. Enna or Endetus (son of Conail).	
16. Ronan (son of Ediduib), Patron of Aghalurcher.	
17. St. Aedan or Aidan, went to England in 635, and converted the people of Northumberland.	651
18. Maelcob or Maelcab, brother of Donald, and son of Edan, Ard Righ of Ireland.	640
19. St. Adamnanus, called Legate of Ireland.	
20. Dianach.	
21. Altigren.	
22. St. Ciaran, son of Atuderman of Clonmacnoise.	
23. Conall.	
24. Airmeadac, author of a Life of St. Patrick.	
25. Faeldobar.	731
26. Cunnacht.	
27. Maelmochair.	
28. Synach.	
29. Artgail (son of Darin).	
30. Cairbre I.	
31. Mailduin.	

Name.	Date of Death.
32. Dermot.	
33. Conaid I.	
34. Moraind.	
35. Dubroith.	
36. Ailil (called Scribe, Bishop, and Abbot of Clogher).	898
37. Cairbre II.	
38. Ængus.	
39. Caendfaelad or Cenfail (son of Lorcan), called Connorban of Clonmacnoise and Clogher, said to have been a saint.	929
40. Conaid II.	
41. Tomultach.	
42. Cellagh.	
43. Muirgach.	
44. Odo O'Duigil.	
45. Mac-mail-iosa O'Cullean.	
46. Christian O'Morgair (brother of the great St. Malachy), highly spoken of by St. Bernard.	1138
47. Edan O'Kelly, pupil of St. Malachy and conse- crated by him Bishop.	1182
48. Maelisa O'Carroll, designed Archbishop of Armagh, but died on his way to Rome.	1184
49. Christian (or Gilla-Christ) O'Macturan, Abbot of Clones.	1191
50. Maelisa MacKiaran.	1195
51. Tigernagh MacGilla-Ronan, an Augustinian Canon.	1218
52. Donat O'Fidabra, translated to Armagh and died 1237.	tr. 1227
53. Nehemy O'Brogan.	1240
54. David O'Brogan, brother of Nehemy; during his Episcopacy Louth, Drogheda, and Dundalk were taken from Clogher and added to Armagh; and Ardsrath was added to Derry.	1267
55. Michael M'Insair. The clergy of Clogher elected Reginald M'Gilla Finin, but the Primate appointed Michael M'Insair.	1286
56. Matthew O'Clohesy, Chancellor of Armagh and elected unanimously by the clergy of Clogher.	1315
57. Cornelius or Gelasy O'Banan, Comorban of St. Tigernac in Clones.	1319

Name.	Date of Death.
58. Nicholas O'Clohesy, elected when Archdeacon of Clogher.	1356
59. Bernard or Bryan M'Camoeill, also Archdeacon of Clogher.	1361
60. Matthew O'Clohesy, likewise Archdeacon of Clogher, nephew of 56th Bishop.	1365
61. Hugh, or Odo, or Aodh O'Neill, Chancellor of Armagh.	1370
62. John O'Corcoran, a Cistercian.	1389
63. Arthur or Art M'Camoeill, a man of great learning and previously Archdeacon of Clogher.	1432
64. Peter Maguire, likewise Archdeacon of Clogher.	res. 1449
65. Roger, or Ross, or Rorey Maguire, son of the Prince of Fermanagh.	1483
66. Edmond Courcey, a Minorite. The first Englishman who ever held the See. Translated to diocese of Ross.	1494
67. Nehemiah Clonin, a Benedictine.	res. 1503
68. Patrick Connolly, Abbot of Clones.	1504
69. Eugene M'Camœil, Dean of Clogher.	1515
70. Patrick Cullin, an Augustinian.	1534
71.*Hugh O'Cervalin, acknowledged supremacy of Henry VIII., but was never after acknowledged by the Priests and people of Clogher.	1546
72. Raymond M'Mahon.	1560
73. Cornelius, or Glashnias, or Neil Mercadell.	1568
74. Cornelius or Glashnias M'Bardill.	1609
75. Eugene, or Owen, or Oin Matthews (M'Mahon).	tr. 1611
76. Hebher or Eaver M'Mahon.	1650
77. Philip Croll.	1671
78. Patrick Duffy.	1675
79. Patrick Tyrrell.	tr. 1707
80. Hugh M'Mahon.	tr. 1713

*After O'Cervalin, the Pope appointed Raymond M'Mahon, and while he was Bishop, Queen Elizabeth appointed the apostate Franciscan, Miler M'Grath, but he finding no success amongst the Priests and people, was transferred to Cashel, and the Protestants never bothered about the See for about thirty-five years, when James I. brought over a Scotchman whom he made Bishop, and gave him a lot of property of which he robbed the Abbey of Clogher.

	Name.	Date of Death.
81.	Bernard M'Mahon.	1718
82.	Bernard or Bryan M'Mahon, afterwards Primate of Armagh.	tr. 1738
83.	Ross M'Mahon, afterwards Primate of Armagh.	tr. 1747
84.	Daniel O'Reilly.	1749
85.	Hugh O'Reilly.	1801
86.	James Murphy, buried in Tydavnet.	1824
87.	Edward Keirnan, buried in Magheross.	1844
88.	Charles M'Nally, buried in St. M'Cartan's Cathedral.	1864
89.	James Donnelly, Do. Do.	1893
90.	Richard Owens, consecrated 26th August,	1894

THE END.



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Yearly Premium	1 12 0	1 14 6	1 18 8	2 4 5	2 12 2	3 2 6	3 15 10	5 19 3

Under this table a person whose age is 30 next birthday can insure £1,300 on his life for the same premium which would be required for £1,000 under the ordinary with profit table, thus securing an **Immediate Bonus of £300**, with the right in addition to benefit by all future bonuses in excess of 25s. per cent.

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